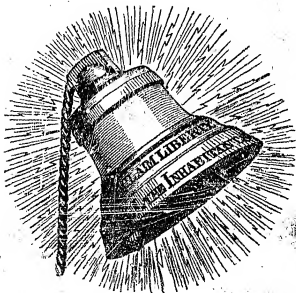


ad.  
"LIBERTY."



THE IMAGE AND SUPERScription ON EVERY COIN ISSUED BY THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.



PROCLAIM LIBERTY THROUGHOUT ALL THE LAND UNTO ALL THE INHABITANTS THEREOF.

THE INSCRIPTION ON THE BELL IN THE OLD PHILADELPHIA STATEHOUSE, WHICH WAS RUNG JULY 4, 1776, AT THE SIGNING OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

1837.  
M.E.

# “LIBERTY.”

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## THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these, are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their powers from the just consent of the governed, &c. [See the whole declaration, signed by the delegates of all the original states, and adopted as the basis of all the State Constitutions.]

## THE UNITED STATES' CONSTITUTION.

We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America. [In what possible manner does the most absolute slavery of, and the systematic and perpetuated traffic in, the blood, brains, and nerves of two and a quarter millions of human beings, assist; and in what possible manner does it *not* destroy each and all of these great objects? Among the following provisions of the Constitution, are all which the framers of it dared to insert for the security of slave property. If they had not felt guilty in holding such property, they would not have left so many hundreds of millions of it with no better security in the Constitution, and so perfectly exposed, as will appear from the instrument itself, and from all the State Constitutions, to the tremendous energy of FREE SPEECH and a FREE PRESS.]

ART. I. Sec. 2. *Third clause.* Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several states which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, *three-fifths of all other persons.*

Sec. 8. [Among the enumerated powers of Congress are the following, which give it full authority to abolish the internal slave-trade and slavery in the District of Columbia, viz :] The Congress shall have power to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, &c.

The Congress shall have power to exercise exclusive legislation, in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular states, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the government of the United States.

[A similar power, also, extends to the territories, as appears from] Art. IV. Sec. 3. The Congress shall have power to dispose of, and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory and other property belonging to the United States, &c.

Sec. 2. The citizens of each state shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states.

No person held to service or labor in one state, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

Sec. 4. The United States shall guarantee to every state in the union, a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and on application of the legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence.

ART. V. The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several states, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several states, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by Congress.

AMENDMENT I. Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and petition the government for a redress of grievances.

AMENDMENT VI. The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated; and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

AMENDMENT VII. No person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval

forces, or in the militia when in actual service, in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject, for the same offence, to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself; nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

AMENDMENT IX. In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved; and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

### CONSTITUTION OF MAINE.

Every citizen may freely speak, write, and publish his sentiments on any subject, being responsible for the abuse of this liberty. No laws shall be passed regulating or restraining the freedom of the press.

### MASSACHUSETTS.

The liberty of the press is essential to security of freedom in a state; it ought not, therefore, to be restrained in this commonwealth.

### NEW HAMPSHIRE.

The *liberty of the press* is essential to the security of freedom in a state; it ought, therefore, to be inviolably preserved.

### VERMONT.

The people have a right to a freedom of speech, and of writing and publishing their sentiments concerning the transactions of government, and, therefore, the freedom of the press ought not to be restrained.

*Motto.*—"FREEDOM AND LIBERTY."

### CONNECTICUT.

Every citizen may freely speak, write, and publish his sentiments on all subjects, being responsible for the abuse of that liberty.

No law shall ever be passed to curtail or restrain the liberty of speech or of the press.

### NEW YORK.

Every citizen may freely speak, write, and publish his sentiments on all subjects, being responsible for the abuse of that right; and no law shall be passed to restrain or abridge the liberty of speech, or of the press. In all prosecutions or indictments for libels, the truth may be given in evidence to the jury; and if it shall appear to the jury, that the matter charged as libellous is true, and was published with good motives, and for justifiable ends, the party shall be acquitted; and the jury shall have the right to determine the law and the fact.

*Arms*—RISING SUN. *Supporters*—LIBERTY AND JUSTICE.



## PENNSYLVANIA.

The printing presses shall be free to every person who undertakes to examine the proceedings of the legislature, or any branch of the government; and no law shall ever be made to restrain the right thereof. The free communication of thoughts and opinions is one of the invaluable rights of man; and every citizen may freely speak, write, and print on any subject, being responsible for the abuse of that liberty.

*Motto*—VIRTUE, LIBERTY AND INDEPENDENCE.

## DELAWARE.

The press shall be free to every citizen who undertakes to examine the official conduct of men acting in a public capacity; and any citizen may print on any such subject, being responsible for the abuse of that liberty.

## MARYLAND.

The liberty of the press ought to be inviolably preserved.

*Arms*—Figure of JUSTICE.

## VIRGINIA.

The freedom of the press is one of the great bulwarks of liberty, and can never be restrained but by despotic governments.



*Motto*—"SO ALWAYS TO TYRANTS."

## NORTH CAROLINA.

The freedom of the press is one of the great bulwarks of liberty, and, therefore, ought never to be restrained.

*Arms*—LIBERTY AND PLENTY.

## SOUTH CAROLINA.

The trial by jury, as heretofore used in this state, and the liberty of the press, shall be for ever inviolably preserved.

## GEORGIA.

Freedom of the press, and trial by jury, as heretofore used in this state, shall remain inviolate; and no ex post facto law shall be passed.

*Arms*—TEMPLE OF LIBERTY.

**KENTUCKY, TENNESSEE, INDIANA, LOUISIANA, AND ILLINOIS.**

The printing presses shall be free to every person who undertakes to examine the proceedings of the legislature, or any branch of government; and no law shall ever be made to restrain the right thereof. The free communication of thoughts and opinions is one of the invaluable rights of man; and every citizen may freely speak, write, and print on any subject, being responsible for the abuse of that liberty.

There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in this state, otherwise than for the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted. Nor shall any indenture of any negro or mulatto, hereafter made and executed out of the bounds of this state, be of any validity within this state.—*Constitution of Indiana*.—[Those of Ohio and Illinois are similar.]

**OHIO.**

The printing presses shall be open and free to every citizen who wishes to examine the proceedings of any branch of government, or the conduct of any public officer; and no law shall ever restrain the right thereof. Every citizen has an indisputable right to speak, write, or print upon any subject, as he thinks proper, being liable for the abuse of that liberty.

**MISSISSIPPI.**

Every citizen may freely speak, write, and publish his sentiments on all subjects, being responsible for the use of that liberty.

No law shall ever be passed to curtail or restrain the liberty of speech or of the press.

**ALABAMA.**

Every citizen may freely speak, write, and publish his sentiments on all subjects, being responsible for the abuse of that liberty.

**MISSOURI.**

The free communication of thoughts and opinions is one of the invaluable rights of man; and every person may freely speak, write, and print on any subject, being responsible for the abuse of that liberty.

**THE SLAVE-TRADE DECLARED TO BE PIRACY BY THE LAW OF THE UNITED STATES.**

If any citizen of the United States, being of the crew or ship's company of any foreign ship or vessel engaged in the slave-trade, or any person whatever, being of the crew or ship's company of any ship or vessel owned in the whole or part, or navigated for, or in behalf of, any citizen or citizens of the United States, shall land, from any such ship or vessel, and on any foreign shore seize any negro or mulatto, not held to service or labor by the laws of either

of the states or territories of the United States, with intent to make such negro or mulatto a slave, or shall decoy, or forcibly bring or carry, or shall receive such negro or mulatto on board any such ship or vessel, with intent as aforesaid, such citizen or person shall be adjudged a PIRATE, and on conviction thereof, before the circuit court of the United States, for the district wherein he may be brought or found, shall suffer DEATH.

### GEORGE WASHINGTON.

I hope it will not be conceived from these observations, that it is my wish to hold the unhappy people who are the subject of this letter, in slavery. I can only say, that there is not a man living, who wishes more sincerely than I do, to see a plan adopted for the abolition of it; but there is only one proper and effectual mode by which it can be accomplished, and that is, by the legislative authority; and this, as far as my suffrage will go, shall not be wanting.—*Letter to Robert Morris.*

The benevolence of your heart, my dear Marquis, is so conspicuous on all occasions, that I never wonder at fresh proofs of it; but your late purchase of an estate in the colony of Cayenne, with a view of emancipating the slaves, is a generous and noble proof of your humanity. Would to God, a like spirit might diffuse itself generally into the minds of the people of this country! But I despair of seeing it. Some petitions were presented to the Assembly at its last session, for the abolition of slavery; but they could scarcely obtain a hearing.—*Letter to Lafayette.*

I never mean, unless some particular circumstance should compel me to it, to possess another slave by purchase; it being among my first wishes to see some plan adopted by which slavery in this country may be abolished by law.—*Letter to John F. Mercer.*

Because there are, in Pennsylvania, laws for the gradual abolition of slavery, which neither Maryland nor Virginia have at present; but which nothing is more certain than that they must have, and at a period not remote.—[Reasons for depreciation of southern lands, in a letter to Sir John Sinclair.]

CAMBRIDGE, February 28, 1776.

MISS PHILLIS,—Your favor of the 26th of October did not reach my hands till the middle of December. Time enough, you will say, to have given an answer ere this. Granted. But a variety of important occurrences, continually interposing to distract the mind and withdraw the attention, I hope will apologize for the delay, and plead my excuse for the seeming, but not real neglect. I thank you most sincerely for your polite notice of me, in the elegant lines you enclosed; and however undeserving I may be of such encomium and panegyric, the style and manner exhibit a striking proof of your

poetical talents; in honor of which, and as a tribute justly due to you, I would have published the poem, had I not been apprehensive, that, while I only meant to give the world this new instance of your genius, I might have incurred the imputation of vanity. This, and nothing else, determined me not to give it place in the public prints.

If you should ever come to Cambridge, or near head-quarters, I shall be happy to see a person so favored by the Muses, and to whom nature has been so liberal and beneficent in her dispensations. I am, with great respect, your obedient humble servant.—*Letter to Phillis Wheatley [An African]*.

Observe good faith and justice towards all nations, cultivate peace and harmony with all; religion and morality enjoin this conduct; and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt that, in the course of time and things, the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be lost by a steady adherence to it? Can it be, that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue? The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices?

In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential than that permanent inveterate antipathies against particular nations, and passionate attachments for others, should be excluded; and that, in place of them, just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated. The nation which indulges towards another an habitual hatred, or an habitual fondness, is, in some degree, a slave. It is a slave to its animosity, or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one nation against another, disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable, when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur. Hence frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed, and bloody contests.—*Farewell Address, 1796.*

Upon the decease of my wife, it is my will and desire that all my slaves, which I hold in *my own right*, shall receive their freedom. To emancipate them during her life, would, though earnestly wished, be attended with such insuperable difficulties, on account of their intermixture by marriages with the dower negroes, as to create the most fearful sensation, if not disagreeable consequences from the latter, while both descriptions are in the occupancy of the same proprietor; it not being in my power, under the tenure by which the dower negroes are held, to manumit them. And, whereas, among those who will receive their freedom according to this clause, there may be some, who, from old age, or bodily infirmities, and others, who, on account of their infancy, will be unable to support themselves, it is my will and desire that all who come under the first and second

descriptions, shall be comfortably clothed and fed by my heirs while they live; and that such of the latter description as have no parents living, or if living, are unable or unwilling to provide for them, shall be bound by the Court until they shall arrive at the age of twenty-five years: and in case where no record can be produced whereby their ages can be ascertained, the judgment of the Court upon its own view of the subject, shall be adequate and final. The negroes thus bound, are by their masters and mistresses to be taught to read and write, and to be brought up to some useful occupation, agreeably to the laws of the commonwealth of Virginia, providing for the support of orphans and other poor children. And I do hereby expressly forbid the sale or transportation out of the said commonwealth, of any slave I may die possessed of, under any pretence whatever. And I do, moreover, most pointedly and most solemnly enjoin it upon my executors, hereafter named, or the survivor of them, to see that this clause respecting slaves, and every part thereof be religiously fulfilled, at the epoch at which it is directed to take place, without evasion, neglect, or delay, after the crops which may then be on the ground are harvested. Particularly as it respects the aged and infirm, seeing that a regular and permanent fund be established for their support, as long as there are subjects requiring it, not trusting to the uncertain provisions to be made by individuals. And to my mulatto man, William, (calling himself William Lee,) I give immediate freedom, or if he should prefer it on account of the accidents which have befallen him, and which have rendered him incapable of walking, or of any active employment, to remain in the situation he now is, it shall be optional in him to do so—in either case, however, I allow him an annuity of thirty dollars during his natural life, which shall be independent of the victuals and clothes he has been accustomed to receive if he chooses the last alternative, but in full with his freedom if he prefers the first. And this I give him as a testimony of my sense of his attachment to me, and for his faithful services during the revolutionary war.

[By another item of Washington's will, the negroes, (then thirty-three in number) belonging to the estate of *B. Dandridge*, (his wife's brother,) and taken in execution, sold, and purchased in on Washington's account, he left, with their increase, to the widow of *B. Dandridge* during her life;] "at the expiration of which, I direct that all of them, who are forty years of age and upwards, shall receive their freedom; all under forty and over sixteen, shall serve seven years and no longer; and all under sixteen years, shall serve until they are twenty-five years old, and then be free."—*George Washington's Will*, July 9, 1790[9].

## JOHN ADAMS.

You and I may not live to the time when this declaration shall be made good; we may die; die colonists—die slaves; die, it may be, ignominiously, and on the scaffold; be it so—be it so; if it be the pleasure of heaven that my country shall require the poor offering of my life, the victim shall be ready at the appointed hour of sacrifice, come when that hour may; but while I do live, let me have a country, or at least the *hope* of a country, and that a *free* country. But whatever may be our fate, be assured that this declaration *will stand*.—*Speech at the passage of the Declaration of Independence.*

Great is Truth—great is Liberty—great is Humanity; and they must and will prevail.—*Letter to a friend.*

## LAFAYETTE.

While I am indulging in my views of American prospects, and American liberty, it is mortifying to be told that in that very country, a large portion of the people are slaves! It is a dark spot on the face of the nation. Such a state of things cannot always exist.

I see in the papers, that there is a plan of gradual abolition of slavery in the district of Columbia. I would be doubly happy of it, for the measure in itself, and because a sense of American pride makes me recoil at the observations of the diplomatists, and other foreigners, who gladly improve the unfortunate existing circumstances into a general objection to our republican, and (saving that deplorable evil) our matchless system.\*

\* Lafayette was consistent. Having bravely and disinterestedly aided in vindicating our rights, he did not incur the reproach of hypocrisy, by turning and trampling on the rights of others.

For the purpose of applying his principles to men of color, he purchased a plantation in French Guiana. His first step was to collect all the whips and other instruments of torture and punishment, and make a bonfire with them, in presence of the assembled slaves. He then instituted a plan of giving a portion of his time to each slave every week, with a promise that as soon as any one had earned money enough to purchase an additional day of the week, he should be entitled to it; and when with this increased time to work for himself, he could purchase another day, he should have that, and so on, until he was master of his whole time. In the then state of Anti-Slavery science, this gradual and sifting process was deemed necessary to form the character of slaves, and to secure the safety of the masters. Abolitionists would not elect this mode now. They would turn slaves at once into free laborers or leaseholders, on the same estate, if possible, where they have been as slaves. Still there is not an American abolitionist who would not rejoice to see a single southern planter copy the plan of Lafayette, or take any other step tending to emancipation, however remote. Before Lafayette's views were fully executed, the French revolution occurred, which interrupted his operations, and made the slaves free at once. But mark the conduct of the ungrateful and blood-thirsty blacks. While other slaves, in the colony availed themselves of the first moment of freedom to quit the plantations of their masters, Lafayette's remained, desiring to work for their humane and generous friend.—*D. L. Child's Oration.*

## CONSISTENCY OF LAFAYETTE.

"After the decisive campaign against Lord Cornwallis, in 1781, Lafayette, on receiving the thanks of the State of Virginia, which had particularly profited by his successes, replied, by the expression of a wish, that liberty might be speedily extended to all men, without distinction. But, he was not contented with sterile wishes, and on his return to France, flattering himself, like Turgot and Poivre, that the gradual emancipation of the negroes, might be conciliated with the personal interests of the colonists; he was desirous of establishing the fact by experience, and for that purpose, he tried a special experiment, on a scale sufficiently large to put the question to the test. At that period, the Intendant of Cayenne was a man of skill, probity, and experience, named Lescalier, whose opinions on the subject coincided with those of Lafayette. Marshal de Castries, the minister of the Marine, not only consented to the experiment, but determined to aid it, by permitting Lescalier to try upon the king's negroes the new regime projected. Lafayette had at first devoted one hundred thousand francs to this object. He confided the management of the residence which he had purchased at Cayenne, to a man distinguished for philosophy and talent, named Richeprey, who generously devoted himself to the direction of the experiment. The Seminarists established a colony, and above all, the Abbé Farjon, the curate of it, applauded and encouraged the measure. It is but justice to the colonists of Cayenne, to say, that the negroes had been treated with more humanity there than elsewhere. Richeprey's six months' stay there, and the example set by him, before he fell a victim to the climate, contributed still further to improve their condition. La Rochefoucault was to purchase another plantation as soon as Richeprey's establishment had met with some success, and a third would afterward have been bought by Malesherbes, who took a cordial interest in the plan. The untimely death of Richeprey, the difficulty of replacing such a man, the departure of the Intendant, and a change in the ministry, threw obstacles in the way of this noble undertaking.

When Lafayette had been proscribed in 1792, the National Convention confiscated all his property, and ordered his negroes to be sold at Cayenne, in spite of the remonstrances of Madame Lafayette, who protested against the sale, observing, that the negroes had been purchased only to be restored to liberty after their instruction, and not to be again sold as objects of trade and speculation. At a later period all the negroes of the French colonies were declared free, by a decree of the National Convention. It is nevertheless remarkable, that some of Lafayette's plans, with regard to the slave emancipation, were realized. Cayenne, the only one of our colonies in which the example set by him of instructing the negroes, had been followed, was also the only colony in which no disorders took place. Urged by gratitude, the negroes of his plantation declared to Richeprey's successor, that if Lafayette's property was confiscated, they would avail them-

selves of their liberty ; but that in the opposite case *they would remain and continue to cultivate his estates.*"—*Private Life of Gen. Lafayette. Vol. I. page 140.*

## THOMAS JEFFERSON.

It is difficult to determine on the standard by which the manners of a nation may be tried, whether catholic or particular. It is more difficult for a native to bring to that standard the manners of his own nation, familiarized to him by habit. There must doubtless be an unhappy influence on the manners of our people produced by the existence of slavery among us. The whole commerce between master and slave is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions; the most unremitting despotism on the one part, and degrading submissions on the other. Our children see this, and learn to imitate it; for man is an imitative animal. This quality is the germ of all education in him. From his cradle to his grave he is learning to do what he sees others do. If a parent could find no motive either in his philanthropy or his self-love, for restraining the intemperance of passion towards his slave, it should always be a sufficient one that his child is present. But generally it is not sufficient. The parent storms, the child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs in the circle of smaller slaves, gives loose to his worst passions, and thus nursed, educated, and daily exercised in tyranny, cannot but be stamped by it with odious peculiarities. The man must be a prodigy who can retain his manners and morals undepraved by such circumstances. And with what execration should the statesman be loaded, who permitting one half the citizens thus to trample on the rights of the other, transforms those into despots, and these into enemies, destroys the morals of the one part, and the amor patriæ of the other. For if a slave can have a country in this world, it must be any other in preference to that in which he is born to live and labor for another: in which he must lock up the faculties of his nature, contribute as far as depends on his individual endeavors to the evanishment of the human race, or entail his own miserable condition on the endless generations proceeding from him. With the morals of the people, their industry also is destroyed. For in a warm climate no man will labor for himself who can make another labor for him. This is so true, that of the proprietors of slaves, a very small proportion indeed are ever seen to labor. And can the liberties of a nation be thought secure when we have removed their only firm basis, a conviction in the minds of the people that these liberties are of the gift of God? That they are not to be violated but with his wrath? Indeed, I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just; that his justice cannot sleep for ever; that considering numbers, nature and natural means only, a revolution of the wheel of fortune, an exchange of situation, is among possible events: that it



may become probable by supernatural interference! The Almighty has no attribute which can take side with us in such a contest. But it is impossible to be temperate and to pursue this subject through the various considerations of policy, of morals, of history, natural and civil. We must be contented to hope they will force their way into every one's mind. I think a change already perceptible, since the origin of the present revolution. The spirit of the master is abating, that of the slave is rising from the dust, his condition mollifying, the way I hope preparing, under the auspices of heaven, for a total emancipation, and that this is disposed, in the order of events, to be with the consent of the masters, rather than by their extirpation.—*Notes on Virginia.*

What an incomprehensible machine is man! Who can endure toil, famine, stripes, imprisonment, and death itself, in vindication of his own liberty, and the next moment be deaf to all those motives whose power supported him through his trial, and inflict on his fellow men a bondage, one hour of which is fraught with more misery than ages of that which he rose in rebellion to oppose. But we must wait with patience the workings of an overruling Providence, and hope that that is preparing the deliverance of these our suffering brethren. When the measure of their tears shall be full—when their tears shall have involved heaven itself in darkness—doubtless a God of justice will awaken to their distress, and by diffusing a light and liberality among their oppressors, or, at length by his exterminating thunder manifest his attention to things of this world, and that they are not left to the guidance of blind fatality.—*Ibid.*

#### LETTER TO DR. PRICE OF LONDON.

PARIS, August 7, 1785.

SIR,—Your favor of July 2d came duly to hand. The concern you therein express as to the effect of your pamphlet in America, induces me to trouble you with some observations on that subject. From my acquaintance with that country, I think I am able to judge with some degree of certainty of the manner in which it will have been received. Southward of the Chesapeake, it will find but few readers concurring with it in sentiment on the subject of slavery. From the mouth to the head of the Chesapeake, the bulk of the people will approve it in theory, and it will find a respectable minority ready to adopt it in practice. A minority, which for weight and worth of character, preponderates against the greater number who have not the courage to divest their families of a property, which, however, keeps their consciences uneasy. Northward of the Chesapeake, you may find here and there an opponent to your doctrine, as you may find here and there a robber and a murderer; but in no greater number. In that part of America there being but few slaves, they can easily disencumber themselves of them; and emancipation is put into such a train that, in a few years, there will be no slaves northward of Mary-

land. In Maryland, I do not find such a disposition to begin the redress of this enormity as in Virginia. This is the next state to which we may turn our eyes for the interesting spectacle of justice in conflict with avarice and oppression; a conflict wherein the sacred side is gaining daily recruits from the influx into office of young men grown and growing up: these have sucked in the principles of liberty, as it were with their mother's milk, and it is to them I look with anxiety to turn the fate of this question. Be not, therefore, discouraged—what you have written will do a great deal of good; and could you still trouble yourself with our welfare, no man is more able to give aid to the laboring side.—The College of William and Mary, in Williamsburgh, since the remodelling of its plan, is the place where are collected together all the young men of Virginia, under preparation for public life. They are there under the direction (most of them) of a Mr. Wythe, one of the most virtuous of characters, and whose sentiments on the subject of slavery are unequivocal. I am satisfied, if you could resolve to address an exhortation to those young men, with all that eloquence of which you are master, that its influence on the future decision of this important question would be great, perhaps decisive. Thus, you see, that so far from thinking you have cause to repent of what you have done, I wish you to do more, and wish it on an assurance of its effect. The information I have received from America of the reception of your pamphlet in the different states, agrees with the expectation I had formed.

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

LETTER TO GOV. COLE OF ILLINOIS.

MONTICELLO, August 25, 1814.

DEAR SIR,—Your favor of July 31st was duly received, and was read with peculiar pleasure. The sentiments breathed through the whole, do honor to both the head and heart of the writer. Mine, on the subject of the slavery of negroes, have long since been in possession of the public, and time has only served to give them stronger root. The love of justice and the love of country plead equally the cause of these people; and it is a moral reproach to us that they should have pleaded it so long in vain, and should have produced not a single effort,—nay, I fear, not much serious willingness to relieve them and ourselves from our present condition of moral and political reprobation. From those of the former generation, who were in the fulness of age when I came into public life, which was while our controversy with England was on paper only, I soon saw that nothing was to be hoped. Nursed and educated in the daily habit of seeing the degraded condition, both bodily and mental, of those unfortunate beings, but not reflecting that that degradation was very much the work of themselves and their fathers, few minds have yet doubted but that they were as legitimate subjects of property as their horses or cattle. The quiet and monotonous course of colonial life had been disturbed

by no alarm, and little reflection on the value of liberty. And when an alarm was taken at an enterprise of their own, it was not easy to carry them to the whole length of the principles which they invoked for themselves. In the first or second session of the legislature, after I became a member, I drew to this subject the attention of Colonel Bland, one of the oldest, ablest, and most respected members, and he undertook to move for certain moderate extensions of the protection of the laws to these people. I seconded his motion, and as a younger member, was more spared in the debate; but he was denounced as an enemy to his country, and was treated with the greatest indecorum. From an early stage of our Revolution, other and more distant duties were assigned to me; so that from that time till my return from Europe in 1789, and, I may say, till I returned to reside at home in 1809, I had little opportunity of knowing the progress of public sentiment here on this subject. I had always hoped that the *younger generation*, receiving their early impressions after the flame of liberty had been kindled in every breast, and had become as it were the vital spirit of every American, in the generous temperament of youth, analogous to the motion of their blood, and above the suggestions of avarice, would have sympathized with oppression wherever found, and proved their love of liberty beyond their own share of it. But my intercourse with them, since my return, has not been sufficient to ascertain that they have made towards this point the progress I had hoped.—Your solitary, but welcome voice, is the first which has brought this sound to my ear; and I have considered the general silence which prevails on this subject as indicating an apathy unfavorable to every hope. Yet the hour of emancipation is advancing in the march of time.

I am sensible of the partiality with which you have looked towards me as the person who should undertake this salutary but arduous work. But this, my dear sir, is like bidding old Priam to buckle the armor of Hector, "*tremantibus aevo humeris, et inutile ferrum cingi.*" No: I have overlived the generation with which mutual labors and perils begat mutual confidence and influence. This enterprise is for the *young*; for those who can follow it up, and bear it through to its consummation. It shall have all my prayers; and these are the only weapons of an old man.

It is an encouraging observation, that no good measure was ever proposed which, if duly pursued, failed to prevail in the end. We have proof of this in the history of the endeavors in the British Parliament to suppress that very trade which brought this evil on us. And you will be supported by the religious precept, "be not weary in well doing." That your success may be as speedy and complete, as it will be honorable and immortal consolation to yourself, I shall as fervently and sincerely pray as I assure you of my great friendship and respect.

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

EDWARD COLE, Esq.

## PREAMBLE TO THE PENNSYLVANIA ACT, 1780.

When we contemplate our abhorrence of that condition to which the arms and tyranny of Great Britain were exerted to reduce us; when we look back on the variety of dangers to which we have been exposed, and how miraculously, in many instances, our wants have been supplied, and our deliverances wrought, when even hope and human fortitude have become unequal to the conflict: we are unavoidably led to a serious and grateful sense of the manifold blessings which we have undeservedly received from the hand of that Being, from whom every good and perfect gift cometh. Impressed with these ideas, we conceive that it is our duty, and we rejoice that it is in our power, to extend a portion of that freedom to others which has been extended to us, and relieve from that state of thralldom, to which we ourselves were tyrannically doomed, and from which we have now every prospect of being delivered. It is not for us to inquire why, in the creation of mankind, the inhabitants of the different parts of the earth were distinguished by a difference of features and complexion. It is sufficient to know, that all are the work of an Almighty hand. We find in the distribution of the human species, that the most fertile, as well as the most barren parts of the earth, are inhabited by men of different complexions from ours, and from each other; from whence, we may reasonably, as well as religiously infer, that He, who placed them in their various situations, hath extended equally his care and protection to all, and that it becometh not us to counteract his mercies. We esteem it a peculiar blessing, granted to us, that we are this day enabled to add one more step to universal civilization, by removing, as much as possible, the sorrows of those who have lived in undeserved bondage, and from which, by the assumed authority of the kings of Great Britain, no effectual legal relief could be obtained. Weaned by a long course of experience from those narrow prejudices and partialities we had imbibed, we find our hearts enlarged with kindness and benevolence towards men of all conditions and nations; and we conceive ourselves, at this particular period, extraordinarily called upon by the blessing which we have received, to manifest the sincerity of our professions, and to give a substantial proof of our gratitude.

And whereas, the condition of those persons who have heretofore been denominated negro and mulatto slaves, has been attended with circumstances which not only deprived them of the common blessing they were by nature entitled to, but has cast them into the deepest afflictions, by an unnatural separation and sale of husband and wife from each other, and from their children; an injury, the greatness of which, can only be conceived by supposing that we were in the same unhappy case. In justice, therefore, to persons so unhappily circumstanced, and who, having no prospect before them, wherein they may rest their sorrows and their hopes, have no reasonable inducement to render the service to society which they otherwise might, and also, in

grateful commemoration of our own happy deliverance from that state of unconditional submission, to which we were doomed by the tyranny of Britain. Be it enacted, That no child hereafter born, shall be a slave, &c.

## BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

USI LIBERTAS, IDI PATRIA.

*Where Liberty dwells, there is my country.*

Two other societies were also established in Philadelphia about this period, founded on the principles of the most refined humanity: one "for alleviating the miseries of public prisons," and the other, "for promoting the abolition of slavery, the relief of free negroes unlawfully held in bondage, and the improvement of the condition of the African race."—Of each of these, Dr. Franklin was president. He had as early as the year 1772, strongly expressed his abhorrence of the traffic in slaves, as appears by his letter of the 22d August, in that year, to Mr. Anthony Benezet, inserted in the first part of his *Private Correspondence*.

The following ADDRESS, with a PLAN of the latter society, are supposed to have been drawn up by Dr. Franklin.

*An Address to the public, from the Pennsylvania Society for promoting the Abolition of Slavery, and the relief of free negroes unlawfully held in bondage.*

It is with peculiar satisfaction, we assure the friends of humanity, that, in prosecuting the design of our association, our endeavors have proved successful, far beyond our most sanguine expectations.

Encouraged by this success, and by the daily progress of that luminous and benign spirit of liberty, which is diffusing itself throughout the world, and humbly hoping for the continuance of the divine blessing on our labors, we have ventured to make an important addition to our original plan, and do, therefore, earnestly solicit the support and assistance of all, who can feel the tender emotions of sympathy and compassion, or relish the exalted pleasure of beneficence.

Slavery is such an atrocious debasement of human nature, that its very extirpation, if not performed with solicitous care, may sometimes open a source of serious evils.

The unhappy man, who has long been treated as a brute animal, too frequently sinks beneath the common standard of the human species. The galling chains that bind his body, do also fetter his intellectual faculties, and impair the social affections of his heart. Accustomed to move like a mere machine, by the will of a master, reflection is suspended; he has not the power of choice and reason and conscience have but little influence over his conduct, because he

is chiefly governed by the passion of fear. He is poor and friendless—perhaps worn out by extreme labor, age, and disease.

Under such circumstances, freedom may often prove a misfortune to himself, and prejudicial to society.

Attention to emancipated black people, it is, therefore, to be hoped, will become a branch of our national police; but as far as we contribute to promote this emancipation, so far that attention is evidently a serious duty incumbent on us, and which we mean to discharge to the best of our judgment and abilities.

To instruct, to advise, to qualify those who have been restored to freedom, for the exercise and enjoyment of civil liberty; to promote in them habits of industry; to furnish them with employments suited to their age, sex, talents, and other circumstances; and to procure their children an education calculated for their future situation in life; these are the great outlines of the annexed plan, which we have adopted, and which we conceive will essentially promote the public good, and the happiness of these our hitherto too much neglected fellow creatures.

A plan so extensive cannot be carried into execution without considerable pecuniary resources, beyond the present ordinary funds of the society. We hope much from the generosity of enlightened and benevolent freemen, and will gratefully receive any donations or subscriptions for this purpose, which may be made to our treasurer, James Starr, or to James Pemberton, chairman of our committee of correspondence.

Signed by order of the Society,

B. FRANKLIN, *President.*

*Philadelphia, November 9, 1789.*

According to *Stuber's* account, Dr. Franklin's name, as president of the Abolition Society, was signed to the memorial presented to the House of Representatives of the United States, on the 12th of February, 1789, praying them to exert the full extent of power vested in them by the Constitution, in discouraging the traffic of the human species. This was his last public act. In the debates to which this memorial gave rise, several attempts were made to justify the trade. In the *Federal Gazette*, of March 25th, 1790, there appeared an essay, signed *HISTORICUS*, written by Dr. Franklin, in which he communicated a speech, said to have been delivered in the Divan of Algiers, in 1687, in opposition to the prayer of the petition of a sect called *Erika*, or *Purists*, for the abolition of piracy and slavery. This pretended African speech was an excellent parody of one delivered by Mr. Jackson of Georgia. All the arguments urged in favor of negro slavery, are applied with equal force to justify the plundering and enslaving of Europeans. It affords, at the same time, a demonstration of the futility of the arguments in defence of the slave-trade, and of the strength of mind and ingenuity of the author, at his advanced period of life.—*Memoirs by Wm. Temple Franklin.*

*To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States :*

The Memorial of the Pennsylvania Society for promoting the abolition of slavery, the relief of free negroes unlawfully held in bondage, and the improvement of the condition of the African race—

RESPECTFULLY SHEWETH,

That from a regard for the happiness of mankind, an association was formed several years ago in this State, by a number of her citizens of various religious denominations, for promoting the abolition of slavery, and for the relief of those unlawfully held in bondage. A just and accurate conception of the true principles of liberty, as it spread through the land, produced accessions to their numbers, many friends to their cause, and a legislative co-operation with their views, which, by the blessing of Divine Providence, have been successfully directed to the relieving from bondage a large number of their fellow creatures of the African race. They have, also, the satisfaction to observe, that in consequence of that spirit of philanthropy and genuine liberty which is generally diffusing its beneficial influence, similar institutions are forming at home and abroad.

That mankind are all formed by the same Almighty Being, alike objects of his care, and equally designed for the enjoyment of happiness, the Christian religion teaches us to believe, and the political creed of America fully coincides with the position. Your memorialists particularly engaged in attending to the distresses arising from slavery, believe it their indispensable duty to present this subject to your notice. They have observed with real satisfaction, that many important and salutary powers are vested in you for "promoting the welfare and securing the blessings of liberty to the people of the United States;" and as they conceive that these blessings ought rightfully to be administered, without distinction of color, to all descriptions of people, so they indulge themselves in the pleasing expectation, that nothing which can be done for the relief of the unhappy objects of their care, will be either omitted or delayed.

From a persuasion that equal liberty was originally the portion, and is still the birthright of all men, and influenced by the strong ties of humanity and the principles of their institution, your memorialists conceive themselves bound to use all justifiable endeavors to loosen the bands of slavery, and promote a general enjoyment of the blessings of freedom. Under these impressions, they earnestly entreat your serious attention to the subject of slavery; that you will be pleased to countenance the restoration of liberty to those unhappy men, who alone in this land of freedom, are degraded into perpetual bondage, and who amidst the general joy of surrounding freemen, are groaning in servile subjection—that you will devise means for removing this inconsistency from the character of the American people—that you will promote mercy and justice towards this distressed race—and that you will step to the very verge of the power vested in you for discouraging every species of traffic in the persons of our fellow men.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, *President.*

*Philadelphia, Feb. 3, 1790.*

*[Federal Gazette, 1790.]*

## BENJAMIN RUSH.

The [cruel] master's wealth cannot make him happy.—The sufferings of a single hour in the world of misery, for which he is preparing himself will overbalance all the pleasures he ever enjoyed in this life—and for every act of unnecessary severity he inflicts on his slaves, he shall suffer tenfold in the world to come.

His unkind behaviour is upon record against him. The gentle spirits in heaven, whose happiness consists in expressions of gratitude and love, will have no fellowship with him. His soul must be melted with pity, or he can never escape the punishment which awaits the hard-hearted, equally with the impenitent, in the regions of misery.—*Paradise of Negro Slaves.*

About the year 1775, I read a short essay with which I was much pleased, in one of Bradford's papers, against the slavery of the Africans in our country, and which, I was informed, was written by Thomas Paine. This excited my curiosity to be better acquainted with him. We met soon afterwards at Mr. Aitkins' bookstore, where I did homage to his principles and his pen on the subject of the enslaved Africans. He told me that it was the first piece he had ever published here.

When the subject of American Independence began to be agitated in this country, the public mind was loaded with an immense mass of prejudice and error relative to it. I called upon Mr. Paine, and suggested to him the propriety of preparing our citizens for a perpetual separation from Great Britain. He seized the idea with avidity, and immediately began his famous pamphlet in favor of that measure. When the sheets were finished, they were put into the hands of Samuel Adams, Judge Wilson, and Dr. Franklin, who held the same opinions, but by whom, no additions were made. At that time, there was in Philadelphia, a certain Robert Bell, an intelligent and independent Scotch printer. He at once consented to run the risk of publishing the pamphlet. The author and printer were immediately brought together, and in a few days "COMMON SENSE" burst from the press, with an effect that has rarely been produced by types and paper in any age or country.—*Letter to Cheetham, July 17, 1809.*

The State of Pennsylvania still deplores the loss of a man in whom season, revelation, and many physical causes concurred to produce such attainments in moral excellency, as have seldom appeared in a human being. This amiable citizen considered his fellow-creature, man, as God's extract from his own works; and whether this image of Himself was cut out from ebony or copper; whether he spoke his own or a foreign language; or whether he worshipped with ceremonies or without them; he still considered him as a brother, and equally the object of his benevolence. Poets and historians who are to live hereafter, to you I commit his panegyric; and when you hear of a law for abolishing slavery in each of the American States, such



as was passed in Pennsylvania in 1780; when you hear of the Kings and Queens of Europe publishing edicts for abolishing the trade in human souls; and lastly, when you hear of schools and churches, with all the arts of civilized life, being established among the nations of Africa;—then remember and record, that this revolution in favor of human happiness was the effect of the labors, the publications, the private letters, and the prayers of Anthony Benezet.—*Rush's Inquiry.*

### ANTHONY BENEZET.

I can, with truth and sincerity declare, that I have found amongst the negroes as great variety of talents, as among a like number of whites; and I am bold to assert, that the notion entertained by some that the blacks are inferior in their capacities, is a vulgar prejudice founded on the pride or ignorance of their lordly masters, who have kept their slaves at such a distance as to be unable to form a right judgment of them.

### PATRICK HENRY.

Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God!—I know not what course others may take; but as for me, give me liberty, or give me death!

HANOVER, January 18, 1773.

DEAR SIR,—I take this opportunity to acknowledge the receipt of Anthony Benezet's book against the slave-trade: I thank you for it. It is not a little surprising, that the professors of Christianity, whose chief excellence consists in softening the human heart; in cherishing and improving its finer feelings, should encourage a practice so totally repugnant to the first impressions of right and wrong. What adds to the wonder is, that this abominable practice has been introduced in the most enlightened ages. Times, that seem to have pretensions to boast of high improvements in the arts and sciences, and refined morality, have brought into general use, and guarded by many laws, a species of violence and tyranny, which our more rude and barbarous, but more honest ancestors, detested. Is it not amazing, that at a time, when the rights of humanity are defined and understood with precision, in a country, above all others, fond of liberty, that in such an age, and in such a country, we find men professing a religion the most humane, mild, gentle and generous, adopting a principle as repugnant to humanity, as it is inconsistent with the Bible, and destructive to liberty? Every thinking, honest man: rejects it in speculation, How few in practice, from conscientious motives!

Would any one believe that I am master of slaves, of my own purchase! I am drawn along by the general inconvenience of living here without them. I will not, I cannot justify it. However culpable my conduct, I will so far pay my devoir to virtue, as to own the excellence and rectitude of her precepts, and lament my want of conformity to them.

*I believe a time will come, when an opportunity will be offered to abolish this lamentable evil.* Every thing we can do, is to improve it, if it happens in our day; if not, let us transmit to our descendants, together with our slaves, a pity for their unhappy lot, and our abhorrence for slavery. If we cannot reduce this wished for reformation to practice, let us treat the unhappy victims with lenity. It is the furthest advance we can make towards justice, it is a debt we owe to the purity of our religion, to show that it is at variance with that law, which warrants slavery. I know not where to stop. I could say many things on the subject; a serious view of which, gives a gloomy perspective to future times!—*Letter to Robert Pleasants.*

I repeat it again, that it would rejoice my very soul that every one of my fellow beings was emancipated. As we ought with gratitude to admire that decree of heaven, which has numbered us among the free, we ought to lament and deplore the necessity of holding our fellow men in bondage.—*Debate in Virginia Convention.*

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### JAMES MONROE.

We have found that this evil has preyed upon the very vitals of the Union; and has been prejudicial to all the states in which it has existed.—*Speech in the Virginia Convention.*

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### JOHN JAY.

The state of New York is rarely out of my mind or heart, and I am often disposed to write much respecting its affairs; but I have so little information as to its present political objects and operations, that I am afraid to attempt it.—An excellent law might be made out of the Pennsylvania one, for the gradual abolition of slavery. Till America comes into this measure, her prayers to Heaven will be impious. This is a strong expression, but it is just. Were I in your legislature, I would present a bill for the purpose with great care, and I would never cease moving it till it became a law, or I ceased to be a member. I believe God governs the world, and I believe it to be a maxim in his as in our court, that those who ask for equity ought to do it.—*Letter from Spain, 1780.*

[As president of the "Society for promoting the manumission of slaves, and protecting such of them as have been or may be liberated," formed in New York in 1785, he wrote a letter, from which the following extracts are taken, to an English society formed in 1788:]

Our society has been favored with your letter of the first of May last, and we are happy that efforts so honorable to your nation are making in your country to promote the cause of justice and humanity relative to the Africans. That they who know the value of liberty, and are blessed with the enjoyment of it, ought not to subject others to slavery, is like most other moral precepts, more generally admitted in theory than observed in practice. This will continue to be too much the case while men are impelled to action by their passions rather than by their reason, and while they are more solicitous to acquire wealth than to do as they would be done by. Hence it is that India and Africa experience unmerited oppression from nations who have been long distinguished by their attachment to their civil and religious liberties, but who have expended not much less blood and treasure in violating the rights of others than in defending their own. The United States are far from being irreproachable in this respect. It undoubtedly is very inconsistent with their declarations on the subject of human rights, to permit a single slave to be found within their jurisdiction; and we confess the justice of your strictures on that head.

Permit us, however, to observe, that although consequences ought not to deter us from doing what is right, yet it is not easy to persuade men in general to act on that magnanimous and disinterested principle. It is well known that errors, either in opinion or practice, long entertained or indulged, are difficult to eradicate, and particularly so when they have become, as it were, incorporated in the civil institutions and domestic economy of a whole people.

[The following facts are given by his son.]

"In 1784, my father executed an instrument for the prospective manumission of a slave then in his service. In the preamble of this paper, is the following passage:—

'Whereas, the children of men are by nature equally free, and cannot, without injustice, be either reduced to or HELD in slavery.'

"In 1786, he drafted and signed a petition to the Legislature of New York, beginning with these words:—

'Your memorialist being deeply affected by the situation of those, who, although FREE BY THE LAWS OF GOD, are held in slavery by the laws of the State.'

"The abolition he proposed was gradual, but it was definite, certain, and *compulsory*. His plan was, that a day should be fixed by law, after which every child born of a slave should be free, but should be held as a servant till a certain age, when he should be entitled to every right and privilege, without exception, to which white men were by law entitled; and that voluntary manumissions should be freely allowed. This plan was adopted by the Legislature of New York during his administration.

"Having thus truly stated the conduct he pursued, and the sentiments he avowed in regard to slavery; I leave it to others to decide how far they 'prov' an able and triumphant vindication of the Colonization Society, its principles and practice.'"

WILLIAM JAY.

### JOEL BARLOW.

Nor shall I strain  
The powers of pathos in a task so vain,  
As Afric's wrongs to sing, for what avails  
To harp for you these known familiar tales;  
To tongue mute misery, and re-rack the soul  
With crimes oft copied from that bloody scroll,  
Where slavery pens her woes, tho' 'tis but there  
We learn the weight that mortal life can bear.  
The tale might startle still the accustom'd ear,  
Still shake the nerve that pumps the pearly tear,  
Melt every heart, and through the nation gain  
Full many a voice to break the barbarous chain.  
But why to sympathy for guidance fly,  
(Her aid 's uncertain and of scant supply,)  
When your own self-excited sense affords  
A guide more sure, and every sense accords?  
Where strong self-interest join'd with duty lies,  
Where doing right demands no sacrifice,  
Where profit, pleasure, life expanding fame  
League their allurements to support the claim.  
'Tis safest there the impleaded cause to trust,  
Men well instructed will be always just.  
Tyrants are never free, and small and great,  
All masters must be tyrants soon or late;  
So Nature works, and oft the lordling knave  
Turns out at once a tyrant and a slave.  
Struts, cringes, bullies, begs, as courtiers must,  
Makes one a God, another treads in dust,  
Fears all alike, and filches whom he can,  
But knows no equal, finds no friend in man.  
Ah, would you not be slaves with lords and kings?  
Then be not masters, there the danger springs;  
The whole crude system that pervades this earth,  
Of rank, privation, privilege of birth,  
False honor, fraud, corruption, civil jars,  
The rage of conquest, and the curse of wars,  
Pandora's fatal shower, all ills combined,  
That erst o'erwhelmed, and still distress mankind,  
Box'd up secure in your deliberate hand,  
Wait your behest, to fix or fly this land.  
Equality of right is Nature's plan,  
And following Nature is the march of man.  
Enslave her tribes! What, half mankind embay,  
Then read, expound, enforce the rights of man!  
Prove plain and clear, how Nature's hand of old,  
Cast all men equal in her human mould!  
Their fibres, feelings, reasoning powers the same,  
Like wants await them, like desires inflame;  
Write, speak, avenge, for ancient sufferings feel,  
Impale each tyrant on their pens of steel,  
Declare how freemen can a world create,  
And slaves and masters ruin every state.—*The Columbiad.*

## SAMUEL ADAMS.

"His principles on the subject of human rights, carried him far beyond the narrow limits which many loud asserters of *their own liberty* have prescribed to themselves, to the recognition of this right in every human being. One day the wife of Mr. Adams returning home, informed her husband that a friend had made her a present of a female slave. Mr. Adams replied in a firm decided manner, '*She may come, but not as a slave, for a slave cannot live in my house; if she comes, she must come free.*' She came, and took up her *free* abode with the family of this great champion of American liberty, and there she *continued* free, and there she *died* free."—Rev. Mr. Allen, Uxbridge, Mass.

## KOSCIUSKO.

General *Kosciusko*, by his will, placed in the hands of Mr. Jefferson a sum exceeding twenty thousand dollars, to be laid out in the purchase of young female slaves, who were to be educated and emancipated. The laws of Virginia prevented the will of *Kosciusko* from being carried into effect.—*Aurora*, 1820.

## HORATIO GATES.

A few days ago, passed through this town, the Hon. General Gates and lady, on their way to take possession of their new and elegant seat on the banks of the East river. The general, previous to leaving Virginia, summoned his numerous family and slaves about him, and amidst their tears of affection and gratitude, gave them their freedom; and what is still better, made provision that their liberty should be a blessing to them.—*Baltimore paper*, Sept. 8, 1790.

## WILLIAM PINKNEY.

SIR,—Iniquitous, and most dishonorable to Maryland, is that dreary system of partial bondage, which her laws have hitherto supported with a solicitude worthy of a better object, and her citizens by their practice countenanced.

Founded in a disgraceful traffic, to which the parent country lent her fostering aid, from motives of interest, but which even she would have disdained to encourage, had England been the destined mart of such inhuman merchandise, *its continuance is as shameful as its origin.*

Eternal infamy awaits the abandoned miscreants, whose selfish souls could ever prompt them to rob unhappy Africa of her sons, and freight them hither by thousands, to poison the fair Eden of Liberty with the rank weed of individual bondage! *Nor is it more to the credit of our ancestors*, that they did not command these savage spoilers to bear their hateful cargo to another shore, where the shrine of freedom knew no votaries, and every purchaser would at once be both a master and a slave.

In the dawn of time, when the rough feelings of barbarism had not experienced the softening touches of refinement, such an unprincipled prostration of the inherent rights of human nature would have needed the gloss of an apology; but to the everlasting reproach of Maryland, be it said, that when her citizens rivalled the nation from whence they emigrated, in the knowledge of moral principles, and an enthusiasm in the cause of general freedom, they stooped to become the purchasers of their fellow creatures, and to introduce an hereditary bondage into the bosom of their country, which should widen with every successive generation.

For my own part, I would willingly draw the veil of oblivion over this disgusting scene of iniquity, but that the present abject state of those who are descended from these kidnapped sufferers, perpetually brings it forward to the memory.

But wherefore should we confine the edge of censure to our ancestors, or those from whom they purchased? Are not we **EQUALLY guilty**? *They* strewed around the seeds of slavery—we cherish and sustain the growth. *They* introduced the system—we enlarge, invigorate, and confirm it. Yes, let it be handed down to posterity, that the people of Maryland, who could fly to arms with the promptitude of Roman citizens, when the hand of oppression was lifted up against themselves; who could behold their country desolated and their citizens slaughtered; who could brave, with unshaken firmness, every calamity of war before they would submit to the smallest infringement of their rights—that this very people could yet see thousands of their fellow creatures, within the limits of their territory, bending beneath an unnatural yoke; and, instead of being assiduous to destroy their shackles, anxious to immortalize their duration, so that a nation of slaves might forever exist in a country where freedom is its boast.

Sir, it is really matter of astonishment to me, that the people of Maryland do not blush at the very name of freedom. I admire that modesty does not keep them silent in her cause. That they who have, by the deliberate acts of their legislature, treated her most obvious dictates with contempt; who have exhibited for a long series of years, a spectacle of slavery which they still are solicitous to perpetuate; who, not content with exposing to the world for near a century, a speaking picture of abominable oppression, are still ingenious to prevent the hand of generosity from robbing it of half its horrors; that they should step forward as the zealous partisans of freedom, cannot but astonish a person who is not casuist enough to reconcile antipathies.

For shame, sir! let us throw off the mask; 'tis a cobweb one at best, and the world will see through it. It will not do thus to talk like philosophers, and act like *unrelenting tyrants*; to be perpetually sermonizing it, with liberty for our text, and actual oppression for our commentary.

But, sir, is it possible that this body should not feel for the reputation of Maryland? Is national honor unworthy of consideration? Is the censure of an enlightened universe insufficient to alarm us? It may proceed from the order of youth, perhaps, but the character of my country among the nations of the world is as dear to me as that country itself. What a motley appearance must Maryland at this moment make in the eyes of those who view her with deliberation! Is she not at once the fair temple of freedom, and the abominable nursery of slaves; the school for patriots, and the foster-mother of *petty despots*; the assertor of human rights, and the patron of wanton oppression? Here have emigrants from a land of tyranny found an asylum from persecution, and here also have those, who came as rightfully free as the winds of heaven, found an eternal grave for the liberties of themselves and their posterity!

In the name of God, should we not attempt to wipe away this stigma, as far as the impressions of the times will allow? If we dare not strain legislative authority so as to root up the evil at once, let us do all we dare, and lop the exuberance of its branches. I would sooner temporize than do nothing. At least we should show our wishes by it.

But, lest character should have no more than its usual weight with us, let us examine into the *policy* of thus perpetuating slavery among us, and also consider this regulation in particular with the objections applicable to each. That the result will be favorable to us, I have no doubt.

That the dangerous consequences of this system of bondage have not as yet been felt, does not prove they never will be. At least the experiment has not been sufficiently made to preclude speculation and conjecture. To me, sir, nothing for which I have not the evidence of my senses is more clear, than that it will one day destroy that reverence for liberty, which is the vital principle of a republic.

While a majority of your citizens are accustomed to rule with the authority of despots, within particular limits; while your youth are reared in the habit of thinking that the great rights of human nature are not so sacred but they may with innocence be trampled on, can it be expected that the public mind should glow with that generous ardor in the cause of freedom, which can alone save a government like ours from the lurking demon of usurpation? Do you not dread the contamination of principle? Have you no alarms for the continuance of that spirit which once conducted us to victory and independence, when the talons of power were unclasped for our destruction? Have you no apprehension left, that when the votaries of freedom sacrifice also at the gloomy altars of slavery, they will at length become apostates from the former? For my own part, I have no hope

that the stream of general liberty will flow for ever, unimpelled, through the foul mire of partial bondage, or that they who have been habituated to lord it over others, will not in time be base enough to let others lord it over them. If they resist, it will be the struggle of *pride and selfishness*, not of *principle*.

There is no maxim in politics more evidently just, than that laws should be relative to the principle of government. But is the encouragement of civil slavery, by legislative acts, correspondent with the principle of a democracy?—Call that principle what you will, the love of *equality*, as defined by some—of *liberty*, as understood by others,—such conduct is manifestly in violation of it.

To leave the principle of a government to its own operation, without attempting either to favor or undermine it, is often dangerous; but to make such direct attacks upon it by striking at the very root, is the perfection of crooked policy. Hear what has been said on this point, by the noblest instructor that ever informed a statesman.

"In despotic countries," says MONTESQUIEU, "where they are already in a state of *political* slavery, *civil* slavery is more tolerable than in other governments. Every one ought there to be contented with necessities and with life. Hence the condition of a slave is hardly more burthensome than that of a subject. But in a monarchical government, where it is of the utmost consequence that human nature should not be debased or dispirited; there ought to be no slavery. In *democracies*, where they are all upon an equality, and in *aristocracies*, where the laws ought to endeavor to make them so, as far as the nature of the government will permit, slavery is contrary to the spirit of the constitution; it only contributes to give a power and luxury to the citizens which they ought not to possess."

Such must have been the idea in England, when the general voice of the nation demanded the repeal of the statute of Edward VI, two years after its passage, by which their rogues and vagabonds were to be enslaved for their punishment. It could not have been compassion for the culprits that excited this aversion to the law, for they deserved none. But the spirit of the people could not brook the idea of bondage, even as a penalty judicially inflicted. They dreaded its consequences—they abhorred the example.—In a word, they revered public liberty, and hence detested every species of slavery.

Sir, the thing is impolitic in another respect. Never will your country be productive; never will its agriculture, its commerce, or its manufactures flourish, so long as they depend on reluctant bondmen for their progress.

"Even the earth itself," (says the same celebrated author,) "which teems with profusion under the cultivating hand of the freeborn laborer, shrinks into barrenness from the contaminating sweat of a slave." This sentiment is not more figuratively beautiful than substantially just.

Survey the countries, sir, where the hand of freedom conducts the ploughshare, and compare their produce with yours. Your granaries in this view appear like the storehouses of exanets, though not sup-



plied with equal industry. To trace the cause of this disparity, between the fruits of a freeman's voluntary labors, animated by the hope of profit, and the slow-paced efforts of a slave, who acts from compulsion only—who has no incitement to exertion but fear, no prospect of remuneration to encourage—would be insulting the understanding. The cause and the effect are too obvious to escape observation.

It has been said: "that freed men are the convenient tools of usurpation:" and I have heard allusions made to history for the confirmation of this opinion. Let, however, the records of ancient and modern events be scrutinized, and I will venture my belief, that no instance can be found to give sanction to any such idea.

In Rome, it was clearly otherwise. We have the evidence of Tiberius Gracchus, confirmed by Cicero, and approved by Montesquieu, that the incorporation of the freed men into the city tribes, re-animated the drooping spirit of democracy in that republic, and checked the career of patrician influence.

So far, therefore, were properly made emancipations from contributing to the downfall of Rome, that they clearly served to procrastinate her existence, by restoring that equipoise in the constitution which an ambitious aristocracy were perpetually laboring to destroy.

How much more rational, Mr. Speaker, would it be to argue that slaves are the fit machines by which an usurper might effect his purposes! and there is, therefore, nothing which a free government ought more to dread than a diffusive private bondage within its territory.

A promise of manumission might rouse every bondman to arms, under the conduct of an aspiring leader; and invited by the fascinating prospect of freedom, they might raise such a storm in Maryland as it would be difficult to appease. Survey the conduct of the slaves who fought against Hannibal in the second punic war. Relying on the assurances of the senate, who had embodied them with the Roman legions, that conquest should give them liberty, not a man disgraced himself by flight; but though new, perhaps, to the field of battle, they contended with the resolution of veterans.—With the same promptitude and intrepidity would they have turned their arms against the senate themselves, if the same assurances had been given them by enterprising citizens who sought their destruction from motives of ambition or revenge. The love of liberty is inherent in human nature. To stifle or annihilate it, though not impossible, is yet difficult to be accomplished. Easy to be wrought upon, as well as powerful and active in its exertions, wherever it is not gratified there is danger. Gratify it, and you ensure your safety. Thus did Sylla think, who, before he abdicated the dictatorship, gave freedom to ten thousand slaves, and lands to a number of legions. By these means was he enabled, notwithstanding all his preceding enormities, to live unmolested as a private citizen, in the bosom of that very country where he had acted the most hateful deeds of cruelty and usurpation. For, by manumitting these slaves, the usurper secured their fidelity

and attachment for ever, and disposed them to support and revenge his cause at every possible hazard. Rome knew this, and therefore Sylla was secure in his retirement.

This example shows that slaves are the proper, natural implements of usurpation, and therefore a serious and alarming evil in every free community. With much to hope for by a change, and nothing to lose, they have no fears of consequences. Despoiled of their rights by the acts of government and its citizens, they have no checks of pity, or of conscience, but are stimulated by the desire of revenge, to spread wide the horrors of desolation, and to subvert the foundation of that liberty of which they have never participated, and which they have only been permitted to envy in others.

But where slaves are manumitted by government, or in consequence of its provisions, the same motives which have attached them to tyrants, when the act of emancipation has flowed from them, would then attach them to government. They are then no longer the creatures of despotism. They are bound by gratitude, as well as by interest, to seek the welfare of that country from which they have derived the restoration of their plundered rights, and with whose prosperity their own is inseparably involved. All apostacy from these principles, which form the good citizen, would, under such circumstances, be next to impossible. When we see freed men scrupulously faithful to a lawless, abandoned villain, from whom they have received their liberty, can we suppose that they will reward the like bounty of a free government with the turbulence of faction, or the seditious plots of treason? He who best knows the value of a blessing, is generally the most assiduous in its preservation; and no man is so competent to judge of that value as he from whom the blessing has been detained. Hence the man that has felt the yoke of bondage must for ever prove the asserter of freedom, if he is fairly admitted to the equal enjoyment of its benefits.—*Speech in the Maryland House of Delegates, 1789.*

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### WARNER MIFFLIN.

*A serious expostulation with the members of the House of Representatives of the United States.*—But whether you will hear or forbear, I think it my duty to tell you plainly, that I believe that the blood of the slain, and the oppression exercised in Africa, promoted by Americans, and in this country also, will stick to the skirts of every individual of your body, who exercise the powers of legislation, and do not exert their talents to clear themselves of this abomination, when they shall be arraigned before the tremendous bar of the judgment seat of Him who will not fail to do right, in rendering unto every man his due; even Him who early declared, “at the hand of every man’s brother will I require the life of man;” before whom the natural black skin of the body will never occasion such degradation. I desire to ap-

proach you with proper and due respect, in the temper of a Christian, and the firmness of a veteran American freeman, to plead the cause of injured innocence, and open my mouth for my oppressed brethren, who cannot open theirs for themselves. I ask no pecuniary advantage for myself; neither post nor pension. I feel the sweets of American liberty; I trust I am sensible of, and thankful for the favor; and am not easy to partake of mine so partially, and see, and hear, and know of my brethren and fellow mortals being so arbitrarily and cruelly deprived of theirs, and not enter my protest. I desire to have this favor and blessing continued to myself and posterity, and cannot but view the tenure, both to myself and countrymen, as very precarious, while a plea is founded on the general constitution, in bar of the rights of man, and the equal distribution of justice being confirmed; that the views of a righteous government would be to promote the welfare of mankind universally, as well those of other nations, as the subjects or citizens of its own; and, therefore, that it is obligatory on the United States, to prevent the citizens thereof injuring the inhabitants of Africa, as those of one state the citizens of another; and I doubt not, in the least, if Africa was in a situation to send fleets and armies here to retaliate, but congress would soon devise means, without violating the constitution, to prevent our citizens from aggravating them. The almost daily accounts I have of the inhumanity perpetrated in these states, on this race of men, distresses me night and day, and brings the subject of the slave-trade with more pressure on my spirit; and I believe I feel a measure of the same obligation that the prophet did when he was ordered to "cry aloud, spare not, lift up thy voice like a trumpet, and show my people their transgressions, and the house of Jacob their sins." And here I think I can show that our nation is revolting from the law of God, the law of reason and humanity, and the just principles of government, and with rapid strides establishing tyranny and oppression.

In a pamphlet, entitled "*Observations on the American Revolution*," published by order of Congress, in 1779, the following sentiments are declared to the world, viz:

The great principle (of government) is and ever will remain in force, *that men are by nature free*; as accountable to him that made them, they must be so; and so long as we have any idea of divine justice, we must associate that of human freedom. Whether men can part with their liberty, is among the questions which have exercised the ablest writers; but it is concluded on all hands, that the right to be free can never be alienated—still less is it practicable for one generation to mortgage the privileges of another.

Humane petitions have been presented to excite in congress benevolent feelings for the sufferings of our fellow-citizens under cruel bondage to the Turks and Algerines, and that the national power and influence might be exerted for their relief; with this virtuous application I unite, but lament that any of my countrymen, who are distinguished as men eminently qualified for public stations,

should be so enslaved by illiberal prejudice as to treat with contempt a like solicitude for another class of men still more grievously oppressed.

I profess freely, and am willing my profession was known over the world, that *I feel the calls of humanity as strong towards an African in America, as an American in Algiers, both being my brethren; especially as I am informed the Algerine treats his slave with more humanity; and I believe the sin of oppression on the part of the American is greatest in the sight of the Father of the family of mankind.*

I hope some will excuse my inserting, in this apologetic expostulation, a few texts of scripture as they revive—I trust there are some of our rulers who yet believe in the authenticity of the Holy Scriptures; what revives now, is the declaration of our Lord, Matt. 25th chapter and 41st verse: “*Then shall he say also to them on the left hand, depart from me ye cursed,*” &c. They also shall answer him, saying—“*When saw we thee an hungered, or athirst, or a stranger, or naked, or sick, or in prison, and did not minister unto thee?*” His answer then you may read, “*Inasmuch as you did it not to the least of these, ye did it not to me.*”

WARNER MIFFLIN.

Kent County, Delaware, 2d of 1st mo. 1793.

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### WILLIAM EATON.

[The Tunisians had captured nine hundred and twenty Sardinian slaves, of whom General Eaton thus makes mention:]

“Many have died of grief, and the others linger out a life less tolerable than death. Alas—remorse seizes my whole soul when I reflect, that this is indeed but a copy of the very barbarity which my eyes have seen in my own native country. And yet we boast of liberty and national justice. How frequently in the southern states of my own country, have I seen weeping mothers leading the guiltless infant to the sales with as deep anguish as if they led them to the slaughter; and yet felt my bosom tranquil in the view of these aggressions on defenceless humanity. But when I see the same enormities practised upon beings whose complexions and blood claim kindred with my own, I curse the perpetrators, and weep over the wretched victims of their rapacity. Indeed, truth and justice demand from me the confession, that the Christian slaves among the barbarians of Africa, are treated with more humanity than the African slaves among professing Christians of civilized America; and yet here sensibility bleeds at every pore for the wretches whom fate has doomed to slavery.”—*Letter to his wife.*

## WILLIAM RAY.

At Georgia's southern point begin ye,  
And travel up through old Virginia,  
What's to be seen where people boast  
Of being friends to freedom most?

Behold the lordly planter stand,  
The lash still reeking in his hand,  
O'er the poor slave whose only sin is  
That his, alas! a sable skin is;  
This gives the wretch whose hide is white,  
To slay him an undoubted right;  
From country and his friends compel him  
To starve, to murder, or to sell him;  
Whose treatment crueller and worse is  
Than that of cattle, swine, or horses:  
And e'en they often say, the slave  
Has not, like him, a soul to save.

Are you republicans?—away!  
'Tis blasphemy the word to say.  
You talk of freedom? Out, for shame!  
Your lips contaminate the name.  
How dare you prate of public good,  
Your hands besmear'd with human blood?  
How dare you lift those hands to heav'n,  
And ask or hope to be forgiven?  
How dare you breathe the wounded air,  
That waits to heaven the negro's prayer?  
How dare you tread the conscious earth,  
That gave mankind an equal birth?  
And while you thus inflict the rod,  
How dare you say there is a God  
That will, in justice, from the skies,  
Hear and avenge his creature's cries?  
"Slaves to be sold," hark, what a sound?  
Ye give America a wound,  
A scar, a stigma of disgrace,  
Which you nor time can e'er efface;  
And prove, of nations yet unborn,  
The curse, the hatred, and the scorn!

*The Horrors of Slavery, or Tars of Tripoli.*

## CAPTAIN RILEY.

Strange as it may seem to the philanthropist, my free and proud-spirited countrymen still hold a million and a half of human beings in the most cruel bonds of slavery; who are kept at hard labor, and smarting under the lash of inhuman mercenary drivers; in many instances enduring the miseries of hunger, thirst, imprisonment, cold, nakedness, and even tortures. This is no picture of the imagination. For the honor of human nature, I wish likenesses were nowhere to be found! I myself have witnessed such scenes in different parts of my own country; and the bare recollection of them now chills my blood with horror.—*Riley's Narrative.*

## U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

“*Resolved*, That the Speaker be requested to acknowledge the receipt and acceptance of *Clarkson's History of Slavery*, presented by the American Convention for promoting the abolition of slavery, and improving the condition of the Africans, and that the said work be deposited in the library.”—*Resolution, Feb. 18, 1809.*

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## DE WITT CLINTON.

During this period of his legislative career (1797), a large portion of his attention was bestowed on the protection of the public health, the promotion of agriculture, manufactures, and the arts, the gradual abolition of slavery, &c.

The record of the proceedings of the senate of New York for the sessions of 1809, 1810, and 1811, exhibits proofs of Mr. Clinton's great usefulness. Under his auspices, the New-York Historical Society was incorporated—the Orphan Asylum and Free School Societies were fostered and encouraged. He introduced laws to prevent kidnapping, or the further introduction of slaves, and to punish those who should treat them inhumanly.—*De Witt Clinton's Life in Delaplaine's Repository.*

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## DANIEL D. TOMPKINS.

To devise the means for the gradual and ultimate extermination from amongst us of slavery, that reproach of a free people, is a work worthy the representatives of a polished and enlightened nation.

Allow me here to observe, that the law which authorizes the transportation of slaves convicted of offences, is very generally considered impolitic and unjust. Impolitic, because it cherishes inducements in the master, to whom alone these unfortunate creatures can look for friendship and protection, to aggravate, to tempt, or to entrap the slave into an error—to operate upon his ignorance or his fears, to confess a charge, or to withhold from him the means of employing counsel for defence, or of establishing a reputation which is frequently the only shield against a criminal allegation. This inducement will be peculiarly strong, where the slave is of that description, the sale of which is prohibited; for a conviction will enable the master to evade that restriction, and to make a lucrative disposition of what might otherwise be a burthen to him. It is unjust, because transportation is added to the full sentence which may be pronounced upon others. To inflict less punishment for the crimes of those who have always breathed the air of freedom, who have been benefited by polished

society, and by literary, moral, and religious instruction and example, than to the passions and frailties of the poor, untutored, unrefined, and unfortunate victims of slavery, is a palpable inversion of a precept of our benevolent Redeemer. The servant "that know not, and did commit things worthy of stripes, shall be beaten with few stripes; for unto whomsoever much is given, of him shall be much required."—*Speech to New-York Legislature, Jan. 8, 1812.*

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### ANDREW JACKSON.

*Proclamation to the free colored inhabitants of Louisiana.*—Through a mistaken policy, you have heretofore been deprived of a participation in the glorious struggle for national rights in which our country is engaged. This no longer shall exist.

As sons of freedom, you are now called upon to defend our most inestimable blessing. As Americans, your country looks with confidence to her adopted children, for a valorous support, as a faithful return for the advantages enjoyed under her mild and equitable government. As fathers, husbands, and brothers, you are summoned to rally round the standard of the eagle, to defend all which is dear in existence.

Your country, although calling for your exertions, does not wish you to engage in the cause, without amply remunerating you for the services rendered. Your intelligent minds are not to be led away by false representations. Your love of honor would cause you to despise the man who should attempt to deceive you. In the sincerity of a soldier, and the language of truth, I address you.

To every noble hearted, generous freeman of color, volunteering to serve during the present contest with Great Britain, and no longer, there will be paid the same bounty, in money and lands, now received by the white soldiers of the United States, viz: one hundred and twenty-four dollars in money, and one hundred and sixty acres of land. The non-commissioned officers and privates will, also, be entitled to the same monthly pay, and daily rations and clothes, furnished to any American soldier.

On enrolling yourselves in companies, the major-general commanding will select officers for your government from your white fellow-citizens. Your non-commissioned officers will be appointed from among yourselves.

Due regard will be paid to the feelings of freemen and soldiers. You will not, by being associated with white men in the same corps, be exposed to improper comparisons or unjust sarcasm. As a distinct, independent battalion or regiment, pursuing the path of glory, you will, undivided, receive the applause and gratitude of your countrymen.

To assure you of the sincerity of my intentions and my anxiety to engage your invaluable services to our country, I have communicated

my wishes to the governor of Louisiana, who is fully informed as to the manner of enrolment, and will give you every necessary information on the subject of this address.

ANDREW JACKSON,

*Major General commanding.*

HEAD QUARTERS, 7th Military District, }  
Mobile, Sept. 21, 1814. }

[On December 18, 1814, GENERAL JACKSON issued in the French language the following.]

#### ADDRESS TO THE FREE PEOPLE OF COLOR.

Soldiers! When on the banks of the Mobile, I called you to take up arms, inviting you to partake the perils and glory of your white fellow-citizens, I expected much from you; for I was not ignorant that you possessed qualities most formidable to an invading enemy. I knew with what fortitude you could endure hunger and thirst, and all the fatigues of a campaign. I knew well, how you loved your native country, and that you had, as well as ourselves, to defend what man holds most dear—his parents, relations, wife, children, and property. You have done more than I expected. In addition to the previous qualities I before knew you to possess, I found, moreover, among you a noble enthusiasm, which leads to the performance of great things.

Soldiers! The President of the United States shall hear how praiseworthy was your conduct in the hour of danger, and the Representatives of the American people will, I doubt not, give you the praise your exploits entitle you to. Your general anticipates them in applauding your noble ardor.

The enemy approaches; his vessels cover our lakes; our brave citizens are united, and all contention has ceased among them. Their only dispute is, who shall win the prize of valor, or who the most glory, its noblest reward.

By Order.

THOMAS BUTLER, *Aid-de-camp.*

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#### JOSEPH STORY.

The existence of slavery under any shape is so repugnant to the natural rights of man and the dictates of justice, that it seems difficult to find for it any adequate justification. It undoubtedly had its origin in times of barbarism, and was the ordinary lot of those conquered in war. It was supposed the conqueror had a right to take the life of his captive, and by consequence might well bind him to perpetual servitude. But the position itself on which this supposed right is founded, is not true. No man has a right to kill his enemy, except in cases of absolute necessity; and this absolute necessity



ceases to exist even in the estimation of the conqueror himself, when he has spared the life of his prisoner. And even, if in such a case it were possible to contend for the right of slavery, as to the prisoner himself, it is impossible that it can justly extend to his innocent offspring through the whole line of descent.

Congress, with a promptitude which does honor to their humanity and wisdom, proceeded, in 1794, to pass a law to prohibit the traffic of slaves by our citizens in all cases not within the reach of the constitutional restriction; and thus cut off the whole traffic *between foreign ports*. In the year 1800, an additional law was passed to *cease* the former enactments; and in the year 1807, (the epoch, when the constitutional restriction was to cease, beginning with the ensuing year) a general prohibition of the traffic as well in our domestic as foreign trade, was proudly incorporated into our statute book. About the same period, the British government, after the most severe opposition from slave dealers and their West Indian friends, achieved a similar measure, and enacted general prohibition of the trade, as well to foreign ports as to their colonies. This act was indeed the triumph of virtue, of reason, and of humanity over the hard-heartedness of avarice; and while it was adorned by the brilliant talents of Pitt, Fox, Romilly, and Wilberforce, let us never forget that its success was principally owing to the modest, but persevering labors of the Quakers; and above all, to the resolute patience and noble philanthropy of a man immortalized by his virtues, the intrepid Thomas Clarkson.

It is a most cheering circumstance, that the examples of the United States and Great Britain in thus abolishing the slave-trade, have, through the strenuous exertions of the latter, been generally approved throughout the continent of Europe. The government of Great Britain has, indeed, employed the most indefatigable and persevering diligence to accomplish this desirable object; and treaties have been made by her with all the principal foreign powers, providing for a total abolition of the trade within a very short period. May America not be behind her in this glorious work; but by a generous competition in various deeds, restore the degraded African to his natural rights, and strike his manacles from the bloody hands of his oppressors.

By our laws, it is made an offence for any person to import or bring, in any manner whatsoever, into the United States or its territories, from any foreign country, any negro, mulatto, or person of color, with intent to hold, sell, or dispose of him as a slave, or to be held to service or labor. It is also made an offence for any citizen or other person as master, owner, or factor, to build, fit, equip, load, or otherwise prepare any vessel in any of our ports, or to cause any vessel to sail from any port whatsoever, for the purpose of procuring any negro, mulatto, or person of color from any foreign country, to be transported to any port or place whatsoever, to be held, sold, or disposed of as a slave, or *to be held to service or labor*. It is also made an offence for any citizen, or other person, resident within our

*jurisdiction*, to take on board, receive, or transport in any vessel from the coast of Africa, or any other foreign country, or from sea, any negro, mulatto, or person of color, not an inhabitant of, or held to service in the United States, for the purpose of holding, selling, or disposing of such person as a slave, or to be held to service or labor.

It is also made an offence for any person within our jurisdiction, to hold, purchase, sell, or otherwise dispose of any negro, mulatto, or person of color for a slave, or to be held to service or labor, who shall have been imported into the United States in violation of our laws—and in general the prohibitions in these cases extend to all persons who shall abet or aid in these illegal designs. These offences are visited as well with severe pecuniary and personal penalties, as with the forfeiture of the vessel and equipments, which have been employed in the furtherance of these illegal projects; and in general, a moiety of the pecuniary penalties and forfeitures is given to any person who shall inform against the offenders and prosecute them to conviction. The President of the United States is also authorized to employ our armed vessels and revenue cutters to cruise on the seas for the purpose of arresting all vessels and persons engaged in this traffic in violation of our laws; and bounties as well as a moiety of the captured property are given to the captors to stimulate them in the discharge of their duty.

Under such circumstances, it might well be supposed that the slave-trade would, in practice, be extinguished—that virtuous men would by their abhorrence, stay its polluted march, and wicked men would be overawed by its potent punishment. But unfortunately the case is far otherwise. We have but too many melancholy proofs from unquestionable sources, that it is still carried on with all the implacable ferocity and insatiable rapacity of former times. Avarice has grown more subtle in its evasion; and watches and seizes its prey with an appetite quickened, rather than suppressed, by its guilty vigils. American citizens are steeped up to their very mouths (I scarcely use too bold a figure) in this stream of iniquity. They throng the coasts of Africa under the stained flags of Spain and Portugal, sometimes selling abroad “their cargoes of despair,” and sometimes bringing them into some of our southern ports, and there under the forms of the law defeating the purposes of the law itself, and legalizing their inhuman but profitable adventures. I wish I could say that New England and New England men were free from this deep pollution. But there is some reason to believe, that they who drive a loathsome traffic, “and buy the muscles and the bones of men,” are to be found here also. It is to be hoped the number is small; but our cheeks may well burn with shame while a solitary case is permitted to go unpunished.

And, gentlemen, how can we justify ourselves or apologize for an indifference to this subject? Our constitutions of government have declared that all men are born free and equal, and have certain inalienable rights, among which are the right of enjoying their lives,

liberties, and property, and of seeking and obtaining their own safety and happiness. May not the miserable African ask, "Am I not a man and a brother?" We boast of our noble struggle against the encroachments of tyranny, but do we forget that it assumed the mildest form in which authority ever assailed the rights of its subjects, and yet that there are men among us who think it no wrong to condemn the shivering negro to perpetual slavery?

We believe in the Christian religion. It commands us to have good will to all men; to love our neighbors as ourselves, and to do unto all men as we would they should do unto us. It declares our accountability to the Supreme God for all our actions, and holds out to us a state of future rewards and punishments as the sanction by which our conduct is to be regulated. And yet there are men calling themselves Christians, who degrade the negro by ignorance to a level with the brutes, and deprive him of all the consolations of religion. He alone, of all the rational creation, they seem to think, is to be at once accountable for his actions, and yet his actions are not to be at his own disposal; but his mind, his body, and his feelings are to be sold to perpetual bondage. To me it appears perfectly clear that the slave-trade is equally repugnant to the dictates of reason and religion, and is an offence equally against the laws of God and man. Yet strange to tell, one of the pretences upon which the modern slavery of the Africans was justified, was the "duty of converting the heathen." \* \* \* \* I forbear to trace the subsequent scenes of their miserable lives, worn out in toils from which they can receive no profit, and oppressed with wrongs from which they can hope for no relief.

The scenes which I have described are almost literally copied from the most authentic and unquestionable narrative, published under the highest authority. They present a picture of human wretchedness and human depravity, which the boldest imagination would hardly have dared to portray, and from which (one should think) the most abandoned profligate would shrink with horror. Let it be considered that this wretchedness does not arise from the awful visitation of Providence in the shape of plagues, famines, or earthquakes, the natural scourges of mankind; but is inflicted by man on man from the accursed love of gold. May we not justly dread the displeasure of that Almighty Being who is the common father of us all, if we do not by all means within our power, endeavor to suppress such infamous cruelties. If we cannot, like the good Samaritan, bind up the wounds and soothe the miseries of the friendless Africans, let us not, like the Levite, pass with sullen indifference on the other side. What sight can be more acceptable in the eyes of heaven than of a good man struggling in the cause of oppressed humanity? What consolation can be more sweet in a dying hour, than the recollection, that at least one human being may have been saved from sacrifice by our vigilance in enforcing the law?—*From Judge Story's Charge to the Grand Jury of the U. S. Circuit Court, in Portsmouth, N. H., May Term, 1820.*

## DANIEL WEBSTER.

Important as I deem it, to discuss on all proper occasions, the policy of the measures at present pursued, it is still more important to maintain the right of such discussion, in its full and just extent. Sentiments lately sprung up, and now growing fashionable, make it necessary to be explicit on this point. The more I perceive a disposition to check the freedom of inquiry by extravagant and unconstitutional pretences, the firmer shall be the tone, in which I shall assert, and the freer the manner, in which I shall exercise it. It is the ancient and undoubted prerogative of this people to canvass public measures, and the merits of public men. It is a "home-bred right;" a fireside privilege. It hath ever been enjoyed in every house, cottage, and cabin in the nation. It is not to be drawn into the controversy. It is as undoubted as the right of breathing the air, or walking on the earth. Belonging to private life as a *right*, it belongs to public life as a *duty*; and it is the last duty, which those, whose representative I am, shall find me to abandon. Aiming at all times to be courteous and temperate in its use, except when the right itself shall be questioned; I shall then carry it to its extent. I shall place myself on the extreme boundary of my rights, and bid defiance to any arm, that would move me from my ground. This high constitutional privilege I shall defend and exercise within this house, and without this house, and in all places, in time of war, in time of peace, and at all times. Living, I shall assert it; dying, I shall assert it; and should I leave no other inheritance to my children, by the blessing of God, I will still leave them the inheritance of free principles, and the example of a manly, independent, and conscientious discharge of them.—*Speech in Congress, 1814.*

If there be, within the extent of our knowledge and influence, any participation in this traffic in slaves, let us pledge ourselves upon the *Rock of Plymouth*, to extirpate and destroy it. It is not fit that the land of the pilgrims should bear the shame longer. Let that spot be purified, or let it be set aside from the Christian world; let it be put out of the circle of human sympathies and human regards; and let civilized men henceforth have no communion with it.

I invoke those who fill the seats of justice, and all who minister at her altar, that they exercise the wholesome and necessary severity of the law. I invoke the ministers of our religion, that they proclaim its denunciation of those crimes, and add its solemn sanction to the authority of human laws. If the pulpit be silent, whenever or wherever there may be a sinner, bloody with this guilt, within the hearing of its voice, the pulpit is false to its trust.

## NEW-YORK LEGISLATURE.

On the 20th day of January, 1820, the following preamble and resolutions were taken up in the senate (having passed the house) of the New-York Legislature, and unanimously passed. [Mr. Van Buren, who was then in the senate of that state, voted in favor of them.]

Whereas, the inhibiting the further extension of slavery in the United States, is a subject of deep concern to the people of this state: and whereas, we consider slavery as an evil much to be deplored, and that every constitutional barrier should be interposed to prevent its further extension; and that the constitution of the United States clearly gives congress the right to require new states, not comprised within the original boundary of the United States, to make the prohibition of slavery a condition of their admission into the Union: Therefore,

Resolved, (if the honorable senate concur therein) That our senators be instructed, and our members of congress be requested, to oppose the admission as a state into the Union, of any territory not comprised as aforesaid, without making the prohibition of slavery therein an indispensable condition of admission.

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WILLIAM WIRT.

Slavery was contrary to the laws of nature and of nations; and that the law of South Carolina, concerning seizing colored seamen, was unconstitutional. \* \* \* \* Last and lowest, a *feculum* of beings called overseers—the most abject, degraded, unprincipled race—always cap in hand to the dons who employ them, and furnishing materials for their pride, insolence, and love of dominion.—*Life of Patrick Henry.*

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JOHN RANDOLPH.

Dissipation, as well as *power* or prosperity, hardens the heart, but avarice deadens it to every feeling but the thirst for riches. Avarice alone could have produced the slave trade. Avarice alone can drive, as it does drive, this infernal traffic, and the wretched victims of it, like so many posthorses, whipped to death in a mail coach. Ambition has its cover-sluts, in the pride, pomp, and circumstance of glorious war; but where are the trophies of avarice? The handcuff, the manacle, and the blood-stained cowhide! *What man is worse received in society for being a hard master? Who denies the hand of a sister or daughter to such monsters?*—nay, they have even appeared in “the

abused shape of the vilest of women." I say nothing of India, or Amboyna—of Cortes, or Pizarro.—*Southern Literary Messenger.*

[In March, 1816, John Randolph submitted the following-resolution to the House of Representatives:] "Resolved, That a committee be appointed, to inquire into the existence of an *inhuman* and illegal traffic of slaves, carried on in and through the District of Columbia, and to report whether any, and what measures are necessary for putting a stop to the same."

"Virginia is so impoverished by the system of slavery, that the tables will sooner or later be turned, and the slaves will advertise for runaway masters."

"Sir, I neither envy the head nor the heart of that man from the North, who rises here to defend slavery upon principle."—*Rebuke of Edward Everett, in Congress, 1820.*

The General Court has decided that the will of Mr. Randolph, dated in December, 1800, with its codicil annexed, the codicil of 1826, the four codicils of 1827, and the codicil of 1831, written in London, should be admitted to probate as the last will and testament of that extraordinary man. The effect of these instruments is to liberate his slaves, and provide for their removal to one of the states or territories. The Court was nearly unanimous, one Judge only dissenting. An appeal, we understand, was taken to the Court of Appeals.—*Rich. Enq.*

"In the name of God, amen. I, John Randolph, of Roanoke, in the county of Charlotte, do ordain this writing, written with my own hand, this fourth day of May, one thousand eight hundred and nineteen, to be my last will and testament, hereby revoking all others whatsoever.

"I give to my slaves their freedom, to which my conscience tells me they are justly entitled. It has a long time been a matter of the deepest regret to me, that the circumstances under which I inherited them, and the obstacles thrown in the way by the laws of the land, have prevented my emancipating them in my lifetime, which it is my full intention to do in case I can accomplish it.

"All the rest and residue of my estate, (with exceptions hereinafter made,) whether real or personal, I bequeath to William Leigh, Esq., of Halifax, Attorney at Law—to the Rev. William Meade, of Frederick, and to Francis Scott Key, Esq., of Georgetown, District of Columbia, in trust, for the following uses and purposes, viz: 1st. To provide one or more tracts of land in any of the states or territories, not exceeding, in the whole, four thousand acres, nor less than two thousand acres—to be partitioned and proportioned by them, in such a manner as to them may seem best, among the said slaves. 2d. To pay the expense of their removal, and of furnishing them with necessary cabins, clothes and utensils. 3d. To pay the expenses, not exceeding four hundred dollars per annum, of the education of John Randolph Clay, until he shall arrive at the age of twenty-three—leaving with him my injunction, to scorn to eat the bread of idleness or dependence.

"CONCISE.—It is my will and desire, that my old servants, Essex and Hetty his wife, be made quite comfortable.

"JOHN RANDOLPH, *of Roanoke.*"

[The laws of Virginia prohibit emancipation without the removal of the emancipated from the state.]

### THOMAS JEFFERSON RANDOLPH.

I agree with gentlemen in the necessity of arming the state for internal defence. I will unite with them in any effort to restore confidence to the public mind, and to conduce to the sense of the safety of our wives, and our children. Yet, sir, I must ask, upon whom is to fall the burden of this defence? not upon the lordly masters of their hundred slaves, who will never turn out except to retire with their families when danger threatens. No, sir; it is to fall upon *the less wealthy class of our citizens; chiefly upon the non slaveholder.* I have known patrols turned out where *there was not a slaveholder among them*, and this is the practice of the country. I have slept in times of alarm quietly in bed, without having a thought of care, while these individuals, owning none of this property themselves, were patrolling under a compulsory process, for a pittance of seventy-five cents per twelve hours, the very curtilage of my house, and guarding that property, which was alike dangerous to them and myself. After all, this is but an expedient. As this population becomes more numerous, it becomes less productive. Your guard must be increased, until finally its profits will not pay for the expense of its subjection. Slavery has the effect of lessening the free population of a country. The wealthy are not dependent upon the poor for those aids, and those services, compensation for which, enables the poor man to give bread to his family. The ordinary mechanic arts are all practised by slaves. In the servitude of Europe, in the middle ages, in years of famine, the poor had to barter their liberty for bread: they had to surrender their liberty to some wealthy man to save their families from the horrors of famine. The slave was sustained in sickness and in famine upon the wealth of his master, who preserved him as he would any other species of property. All the sources of the poor man's support were absorbed by him. In this country, he cannot become a slave, but he flies to some other country more congenial to his condition, and where he who supports himself by honest labor is not degraded in his caste. Those who remain, relying upon the support of casual employment, often become more degraded in their condition, than the slaves themselves.

The gentleman has spoken of the increase of the female slaves being a part of the profit; it is admitted; but no great evil can be averted, no good attained, without some inconvenience. It may be questioned, how far it is desirable to foster and encourage this branch of profit. It is a practice, and an increasing practice in parts of Vir-

girdia, to rear slaves for market. How can an honorable mind, a patriot, and a lover of his country, bear to see this ancient dominion, rendered illustrious by the noble devotion and patriotism of her sons in the cause of liberty, converted into one grand menagerie, where men are to be reared for the market, like oxen for the shambles. Is it better, is it not worse, than the slave trade; that trade which enlisted the labor of the good and wise of every creed, and every clime, to abolish it? The trader receives the slave, a stranger in language, aspect and manner, from the merchant who has brought him from the interior. The ties of father, mother, husband and child, have all been rent in twain; before he receives him, his soul has become callous. But here, sir, individuals, whom the master has known from infancy, whom he has seen sporting in the innocent gambols of childhood, who have been accustomed to look to him for protection, he tears from the mother's arms, and sells into a strange country, among strange people, subject to cruel taskmasters.

He has attempted to justify slavery here, because it exists in Africa, and has stated that it exists all over the world. Upon the same principle, he could justify Mahometanism, with its plurality of wives, petty wars for plunder, robbery and murder, or any other of the abominations and enormities of savage tribes. Does slavery exist in any part of civilized Europe? No, sir, in no part of it. America is the only civilized Christian nation that bears the opprobrium. In every other country, where civilization and Christianity have existed together, they have erased it from their codes; they have blotted it out from the page of their history. He has attempted to reconcile us to the dangers of negro slavery, by comparison with slavery as it existed among the ancients. There is one view of this subject which has escaped the gentleman, and which I think reverses his conclusions. The slaves of the ancients were of the same species of the human race; they were of different nations it is true, taken in war, but nevertheless white, bearing no distinctive specific mark, stamped upon their countenances, which should designate them through illimitable generations as a distinct race. In the march of events their blood mingled with their masters; all varieties of dialect or language, the slight differences of aspect and countenance, became blended into one mass. These, from individual genius and assiduity, from high moral and intellectual qualities, could rise separately into higher classes. Such was Esop, Phædrus, Narses, Terence, and the father of Juvenal, who have transmitted their names to an immortal posterity, while their proud masters sleep in oblivion with the common herd. To rise by merit was practicable; there was no inducement to attempt to elevate violently a caste, with whom they had no community of interest or feeling. The ancients even forbade badges of slavery to be worn, fearing to mark them too plainly, lest they might see their own strength; and with this precaution, Italy was ravaged by servile wars. The slave Spartacus kept the field for three years in the heart of Italy, repeatedly defeating consular armies. But, sir, how different is it with the African; nature has stamped upon him the indelible



mark of his species : no lapse of time or generations, no clime or culture, can weaken or obliterate her impression from his countenance. On the burning sands of Africa, in the snowy regions of Canada, as the naked hunter of his native woods, pursuing with the poisoned dart the lion or the elephant, or here, sir, after two hundred years of culture, it remains unfaded, unchanged, and unchangeable. No matter what the grandeur of his soul, the elevation of his thought, the extent of his knowledge, or the purity of his character ; he may be a Newton or a Des Cartes, a Tell or a Washington, he is chained down by adamantine fetters ; he cannot rear himself from the earth without elevating his whole race with him.

The gentleman has appealed to the Christian religion in justification of slavery. I would ask him upon what part of those pure doctrines does he rely ; to which of those sublime precepts does he advert, to sustain his position ? Is it that which teaches charity, justice, and good-will to all ? or is it that which teaches "that ye do unto others as ye would they should do unto you ?"—*Speech in the Virginia Legislature.*

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### B. SWAIN.

Is it nothing to us, that seventeen hundred thousand of the people of our country, are doomed illegally to the most abject and vile slavery that was ever tolerated on the face of the earth ? Are Carolinians deaf to the piercing cries of humanity ? Are they insensible to the demands of justice ? Let any man of spirit and feeling, for a moment cast his thoughts over the land of slavery—think of the nakedness of some, the hungry yearnings of others, the flowing tears and heaving sighs of parting relations, the wailings of lamentation and woe, the bloody cut of the keen lash, and the frightful scream that rends the very skies,—and all this to gratify ambition, lust, pride, avarice, vanity, and other depraved feelings of the human heart. Too long has our country been unfortunately lulled to sleep, feeding on the golden dreams of superficial politicians, fanciful poets, and anniversary orations. *The worst is not generally known.* Were all the miseries, the horrors of slavery, to burst at once into view, a peal of sevenfold thunder could scarce strike greater alarm. We cannot yet believe the condition of our country so desperate, as to forbid the judicious application of proper remedies."—*Address of B. Swain of North Carolina, in 1830.*

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### GOVERNOR RANDOLPH.

The deplorable error of our ancestors in copying a civil institution from savage Africa, has affixed upon their posterity a depressing burden, which nothing but the extraordinary benefits conferred by our

happy climate, could have enabled us to support. We have been far outstripped by states, to whom nature has been far less bountiful. It is painful to consider what might have been, under other circumstances, the amount of general wealth in Virginia, or the whole sum of comfortable subsistence and happiness possessed by all her inhabitants.—*Address to the Legislature of Virginia, in 1820.*

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### MR. BRODNAX.

That slavery in Virginia is an evil, and a transcendent evil, it would be more than idle for any human being to doubt or deny. It is a mildew, which has blighted every region it has touched, from the creation of the world. Illustrations from the history of other countries and other times might be instructive; but we have evidence nearer at hand, in the short histories of the different states of this great confederacy, which are impressive in their admonitions, and conclusive in their character.—*Speech in the Virginia Legislature, 1832.*

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### MR. CUSTIS.

The prosperity and aggrandizement of a state is to be seen in its increase of inhabitants, and consequent progress in industry and wealth. Of the vast tide of emigration, which now rushes like a cataract to the West, not even a trickling rill wends its way to the ancient dominion. Of the multitude of foreigners, who daily seek an asylum and home in the empire of liberty, how many turn their steps to the region of the slave? None. No, not one. There is a malaria in the atmosphere of those regions, which the new comer shuns, as being deleterious to his views and habits. See the wide spreading ruin which the avarice of our ancestral government has produced in the South, as witnessed in a sparse population of freemen, deserted habitations, and fields without culture.

Strange to tell, even the wolf, driven back long since by the approach of man, now returns, after the lapse of an hundred years, to howl over the desolations of slavery.

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### MR. FAULKNER.

I am gratified to perceive that no gentleman has yet risen in this hall the avowed *advocate* of slavery. The day has gone by, when such a voice could be listened to with patience, or even forbearance. I even regret, sir, that we should find one among us, who enters the

lists as its *apologist*, except on the ground of uncontrollable necessity. If there be one who concurs with the gentleman from Brunswick (Mr. Gholson) in the harmless character of this institution, let me request him to compare the condition of the slaveholding portion of this Commonwealth—barren, desolate, and seared as it were by the avenging hand of Heaven, with the descriptions which we have of this same country from those, who first broke its virgin soil. To what is this change ascribable? Alone to the withering and blasting effects of slavery. If this does not satisfy him, let me request him to extend his travels to the northern states of this Union, and beg him to contrast the happiness and contentment which prevails throughout the country—the busy and cheerful sound of industry—the rapid and swelling growth of their population—the means and institutions of education—their skill and proficiency in the useful arts—their enterprise and public spirit—the monuments of their commercial and manufacturing industry;—and above all, their devoted attachment to the government from which they derive their protection, with the division, discontent, indolence, and poverty of the southern country. To what, sir, is all this ascribable? To that vice in the organization of society, by which one half of its inhabitants are arrayed in interest and feeling against the other half—to that unfortunate state of society in which freemen regard labor as disgraceful, and slaves shrink from it as a burden tyrannically imposed upon them—to that condition of things, in which half a million of your population can feel no sympathy with the society, and in the prosperity of which they are forbidden to participate—no attachment to a government at whose hands they receive nothing but injustice.

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#### MR. SUMMERS.

Sir, the evils of this system cannot be enumerated. It were unnecessary to attempt it. They glare upon us at every step. When the owner looks to his wasted estate, he knows and feels them. When the statesman examines the condition of his country, and finds her moral influence gone, her physical strength diminished, her political power waning, he sees and must confess them. Will gentlemen inform us when this subject will become *less* delicate, when it will be attended with *fewer* difficulties than at present—and at what period we shall be *better* enabled to meet them? Shall we be more adequate to the end proposed, after the resources of the state have been yet longer paralyzed by the withering, desolating influence of our present system? Sir, every year's delay but augments the difficulties of this great business, and weakens our ability to compass it. Like silly children, we endeavor to postpone the work, which we know must be performed.—*Speeches in the Virginia Legislature, 1832.*

## HENRY CLAY.

As a mere laborer, the slave feels that he toils for his master, and not for himself; that the laws do not recognise his capacity to acquire and hold property, which depends altogether upon the pleasure of his proprietor, and that all the fruits of his exertions are reaped by others. He knows that, whether sick or well, in times of scarcity or abundance, his master is bound to provide for him by the all-powerful influence of self-interest. He is generally, therefore, indifferent to the adverse or prosperous fortunes of his master, being contented if he can escape his displeasure or chastisement, by a careless and slovenly performance of his duties.

This is the state of the relation between master and slave, prescribed by the law of its nature, and founded in the reason of things. There are undoubtedly many exceptions, in which the slave dedicates himself to his master with a zealous and generous devotion, and the master to the slave with a parental and affectionate attachment. But it is my purpose to speak of the *general* state of this unfortunate relation.

That labor is best, in which the laborer knows that he will derive the profits of his industry, that his employment depends upon his diligence, and his reward upon this assiduity. He then has every motive to excite him to exertion, and to animate him in perseverance. He knows that if he is treated badly, he can exchange his employer for one who will better estimate his service; and that whatever he earns is *his*, to be distributed by himself as he pleases, among his wife and children, and friends, or enjoyed by himself. In a word, he feels that he is a free agent, with rights, and privileges, and sensibilities.

Wherever the option exists to employ, at an equal hire, free or slave labor, the former will be decidedly preferred, for the reasons already assigned. It is more capable, more diligent, more faithful, and in every respect more worthy of confidence.

It is believed that nowhere in the *farming* portion of the United States would slave labor be generally employed, if the proprietor were not tempted to raise slaves by the high price of the southern market, which keeps it up in his own.

[Speaking of an attempt more than thirty-five years ago, to adopt gradual emancipation in Kentucky, Mr. Clay says:]

We were overpowered by numbers, and submitted to the decision of the majority, with the grace which the minority, in a republic, should ever yield to such a decision. I have nevertheless never ceased, and never shall cease, to regret a decision, the effects of which have been, to place us in the rear of our neighbors, who are exempt from slavery, in the state of agriculture, the progress of manufactures, the advance of improvement, and the general prosperity of society.—*Address before the Colonization Society.*

## JOHN Q. ADAMS.

Not three days since, Mr. Clayton, of Georgia, called that species of population (*viz.* slaves) the machinery of the South. Now that machinery had twenty odd representatives\* in that hall,—not elected by the machinery, but by those who owned it. And if he should go back to the history of this government from its foundation, it would be easy to prove that its decisions had been affected, in general, by less majorities than that. Nay, he might go further, and insist that that very representation had ever been, in fact, *the ruling power of this government.*

The history of the Union has afforded a continual proof that this representation of property, which they enjoy, as well in the election of President and Vice President of the United States, as upon the floor of the House of Representatives, has secured to the slaveholding states the entire control of the national policy, and, almost without exception, the possession of the highest executive office of the Union. Always united in the purpose of regulating the affairs of the whole Union by the standard of the slaveholding interest, their disproportionate numbers in the electoral colleges have enabled them, in ten out of twelve quadrennial elections, to confer the Chief Magistracy upon one of their own citizens. Their suffrages at every election, without exception, have been almost exclusively confined to a candidate of their own caste. Availing themselves of the divisions which, from the nature of man, always prevail in communities entirely free, they have sought and found auxiliaries in the other quarters of the Union, by associating the passions of parties, and the ambition of individuals, with their own purposes, to establish and maintain throughout the confederated nation the slaveholding policy. The office of Vice-President, a station of high dignity, but of little other than contingent power, had been usually, by their indulgence, conceded to a citizen of the other section; but even this political courtesy was superseded at the election before the last, and both the offices of President and Vice President of the United States were, by the preponderancy of slaveholding votes, bestowed upon citizens of two adjoining and both slaveholding states. At this moment, the President of the United States, the President of the Senate, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and the Chief Justice of the United States, are all citizens of that favored portion of the united republic. The last of these offices, being under the constitution held by the tenure of good behaviour, has been honored and dignified by the occupation of the present incumbent upwards of thirty years. An overruling sense of the high responsibilities under which it is held, has effectually guarded him from permitting the sectional slaveholding spirit to ascend the tribunal of justice; and it is not difficult to discern, in this inflexible impartiality, the source of the obloquy

[\* There are now twenty-five odd representatives—that is, representatives of slaves.]

which that same spirit has not been inactive in attempting to excite against the Supreme Court of the United States itself; and of the insuperable aversion of the votaries of nullification to encounter or abide by the decision of that tribunal, the true and legitimate umpire of constitutional, controverted law.—*Speech in Congress, Feb. 4, 1833.*

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## NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

The great body of the Roman citizens were impoverished. Instead of little farms studding the country with their pleasant aspect, and nursing an independent race, there were seen nearly all the lands of Italy engrossed by large proprietors, and the plough was in the hands of slaves. In the early period of the state, agriculture and war had been the labor and the office of freemen; but the great mass of the Roman citizens had now, by the institution of bondmen, and its necessary tendency to accumulate all possessions in the hands of a few, been excluded from employment; the palaces of the wealthy towered in the landscape in solitary grandeur; the freemen hid themselves in miserable hovels. Deprived of the dignity of proprietors, they could not even hope for occupation; for the opulent landholder preferred rather to make use of his slaves, whom he could not but maintain, and who constituted his family. Excepting a small number, of the immeasurably rich, and a feeble and continually decreasing class of independent husbandmen, poverty was extreme.

He (Tiberius Gracchus) found the inhabitants of the Roman state divided into three distinct classes. The few wealthy nobles; the many indigent citizens; and the still more numerous class of slaves. Reasoning correctly on the subject, he perceived that it was slavery, which crowded the poor freemen out of employment, and barred the way to his advancement. It was the aim of Gracchus, not so much to mend the condition of the slaves, as to lift the brood of idle persons into dignity; to give them land, to put the plough into their hands, to make them industrious and useful, and to repose on them the liberties of the state. He resolved to create a Roman yeomanry; instead of planters and slaves, to substitute free laborers; to plant liberty firmly in the land; to perpetuate the Commonwealth, by identifying its principles with the culture of the soil.—*Art. "Slavery in Rome."*

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## GENERAL DUFF GREEN.

We are of those who believe the South has nothing to fear from a servile war. We do not believe that the abolitionists intend, nor could they, if they would, excite the slaves to insurrection. The

danger of this is remote. We believe that we have most to fear from the organized action upon the consciences and fears of slaveholders themselves; from the insinuations of their dangerous heresies into our schools, our pulpits, and our domestic circles. It is only by alarming the consciences of the weak and feeble, and diffusing among our own people a morbid sensibility on the question of slavery, that the abolitionists can accomplish their object. *Preparatory to this*, they are now laboring to saturate the non-slaveholding states with the belief that slavery is a sin against God; that the "national compact" involves the non-slaveholders in that sin; and that it is their duty to toil and suffer, that our country may be delivered from what they term its blackest stain, its foulest reproach, its deadliest curse.—*Southern Review*.

### GOVERNOR RITNER.

Last, but worst of all, came the base bowing of the knee to the dark spirit of slavery.

For the preservation of this last and most cherished article of our national political creed, the sacrifice of which has not yet been completed, it is our duty to make all possible effort.

To ascertain what have been, nay, what are the doctrines of the people of this state, on the subject of domestic slavery, reference need only be made to the statute book and journals of the legislature. They will there be found imprinted in letters of light upon almost every page. In 1, Smith's Laws, 493, is found an "act for the gradual abolition of slavery in Pennsylvania," with a preamble which should be printed in letters of gold. This is the first act of the kind passed in any part of the Union, and was nobly put forth to the world, in the year 1780, in the midst of the struggle for national freedom. This just doctrine was, through a long course of years, adhered to and perfected, till slavery ceased in our state. And finally, in 1827, the following open avowal of the state doctrine, was prefaced to the act "to prevent certain abuses of the laws relative to fugitives from labor." "The traffic in slaves, now abhorred by all the civilized world, ought not in the slightest degree to be tolerated in the state of Pennsylvania."—*Pamphlet Laws*, page 485.

Not only has Pennsylvania thus expelled the evil from her own borders, but she has on all proper occasions, endeavored to guard her younger sisters from the pollution. On the 19th of December, 1819, the following language was unanimously made use of by the legislature, and approved of by the governor, on the question of admitting new states into the Union, with the right of holding slaves. "That the senators and representatives of this state, in the congress of the United States, be, and they are hereby requested to vote against the admission of any territory as a state into the Union, unless the further introduction of slavery or involuntary servitude, except for the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly con-

victed, shall be prohibited, and all children born within the said territory, after its admission into the Union as a state, shall be free, but may be held to service until the age of twenty-five years."

The preamble to this resolution, too long to be cited at large, is worthy of all consideration at the present juncture.

On the much discussed question of slavery in the District of Columbia, there never has been anything like hesitation. On the 23d of January, 1819, the legislature passed a resolution instructing our representatives in congress to advocate the passage of a law for its abolition; and the voice of public opinion, as expressed through the press, at meetings, and in petitions, has been unchanging on the subject.

These tenets, then, viz: opposition to slavery at home, which, by the blessing of Providence, has been rendered effectual; opposition to the admission into the Union of new slaveholding states; and opposition to slavery in the District of Columbia, the very hearth and domestic abode of the national honor—have ever been, and are the cherished doctrines of our state. Let us, fellow-citizens, stand by and maintain them unshrinkingly and fearlessly. While we admit and scrupulously respect the constitutional rights of other states, on this momentous subject, let us not, either by fear or interest, be driven from aught of that spirit of independence and veneration for freedom, which has ever characterized our beloved commonwealth.

Above all, let us never yield up the right of free discussion of any evil which may arise in the land or any part of it; convinced that the moment we do so, the bond of union is broken. For, the union being a voluntary compact to continue together for certain specified purposes, the instant one portion of it succeeds in imposing terms and dictating conditions upon another, not found in the contract, the relation between them changes, and that which was union becomes subjection.—*Message to Pennsylvania Legislature, 1836.*

### BENJAMIN LUNDY.

It is generally admitted, that the WAR IN TEXAS has assumed a character which must seriously affect both the interests and the honor of this nation. It implicates the conduct of a large number of our citizens, and even the policy and measures of the government are deeply involved in it. The subject, as now presented to our view, is indeed one of vital importance to the people of the United States; and it particularly invites the attention—the most solemn and deliberate consideration—of all who profess to be guided by the true principles of justice and philanthropy. It is not only to be viewed as a matter of interest, at the present day. The great fundamental principles of universal liberty—the perpetuity of our free republican institutions—the prosperity, the welfare, and the happiness of future generations—are measurably connected with the prospective issue of this fierce and bloody conflict.



But the prime cause, and the real objects of this war, are not distinctly understood by a large portion of the honest, disinterested, and well-meaning citizens of the United States. Their means of obtaining correct information upon the subject have been necessarily limited; and many of them have been deceived and misled by the misrepresentations of those concerned in it, and especially by hiring writers of the newspaper press. They have been induced to believe that the inhabitants of Texas were engaged in a legitimate contest for the maintenance of the sacred principles of liberty, and the natural, inalienable rights of man:—whereas, the motives of its instigators, and their chief incentives to action, have been, from the commencement, of a directly opposite character and tendency. *It is susceptible of the clearest demonstration, that the immediate cause, and the leading object of this contest, originated in a settled design, among the slaveholders of this country, (with land speculators and slave-traders,) to wrest the large and valuable territory of Texas from the Mexican Republic, in order to re-establish the SYSTEM OF SLAVERY; to open a vast and profitable SLAVE-MARKET therein; and ultimately, to annex it to the United States.* And further, it is evident—nay, it is very generally acknowledged—that the insurrectionists are principally citizens of the United States, who have proceeded thither *for the purpose* of revolutionizing the country; and that they are dependant upon this nation, for both the physical and pecuniary means, to carry the design into effect. We have a still more important view of the subject. *The slaveholding interest is now paramount in the executive branch of our national government; and its influence operates, indirectly, yet powerfully, through that medium, in favor of this grand scheme of oppression and tyrannical usurpation.* Whether the national legislature will join hands with the executive, and lend its aid to this most unwarrantable, aggressive attempt, will depend on the **VOICE OF THE PEOPLE**, expressed in their primary assemblies, *by their petitions*, and through the ballot boxes.

The land speculations, aforesaid, have extended to most of the cities and villages of the United States, the British colonies in America, and the settlements of foreigners in all the eastern parts of Mexico. All concerned in them are aware that a change in the government of the country must take place, if their claims shall ever be legalized.

The advocates of slavery, in our southern states and elsewhere, want more land on this continent suitable for the culture of sugar and cotton: and if Texas, with the adjoining portions of Tamaulipas, Coahuila, Chihuahua, and Santa Fe, east of the Rio Bravo del Norte, can be wrested from the Mexican government, room will be afforded for the redundant slave population in the United States, even to a remote period of time. The following may be taken as a fair estimate of the dimensions of this extensive region, in square miles, and in English acres. It is calculated from the boundaries of the different departments, as marked in Tanner's Map of Mexico, revised in 1834:

Texas (proper,)	165,000	104,560,000
Tamaulipas east of Rio Bravo,	13,000	8,960,000
Coahuila, do.	7,000	4,480,000
Chihuahua, do.	8,000	5,760,000
Santa Fe, do.	107,000	68,480,000
	<hr/> 301,000	<hr/> 192,240,000

The breeders of slaves, in those parts of the United States where slave labor has become unprofitable, and also the traffickers in human flesh, whether American or foreign, desire an extended market, which Texas would afford if revolutionized, and governed as well as inhabited by those who are in favor of re-establishing the system of slavery in that section of country. The northern land speculators most cheerfully co-operate with the southern slaveholders in the grand scheme of aggression, with the hope of immense gain; and the slave-merchants play into the hands of both, with the same heartless, avaricious feelings and views. The principal seat of operations for the first, is New York,—though some active and regular agencies are established at New Orleans and Nashville, and minor agencies in other places. The second exercise their influence individually, without any particular organization; while the third co-operate with all, as opportunities present themselves. They have subsidized presses at command, ready to give extensive circulation to whatever they may wish to publish in furtherance of their views. And orators, legislators, and persons holding official stations under our Federal government, are deeply interested in their operations, and frequently, willing instruments to promote their cause.

Such are the motives for action—such the combination of interests—such the organization, sources of influence, and foundation of authority, upon which the present *Texas Insurrection* rests. The resident colonists compose but a small fraction of the party concerned in it. The standard of revolt was raised as soon as it was clearly ascertained that slavery could not be perpetuated, nor the illegal speculations in land continued, under the government of the Mexican Republic. The Mexican authorities were charged with acts of oppression, while the true causes of the revolt—the motives and designs of the insurgents—were studiously concealed from the public view. Influential slaveholders are contributing money, equipping troops, and marching to the scene of conflict. The land speculators are fitting out expeditions from New York and New Orleans, with men, munitions of war, provisions, &c., to promote the object. The Independence of Texas is declared, and the system of slavery, as well as the slave-trade, (with the United States,) is fully recognised by the government they have set up. Commissioners are sent from the colonies, and agents are appointed here, to make formal application, enlist the sympathies of our citizens, and solicit aid in every way that it can be furnished. The *hiring presses* are actively engaged in promoting the success of their efforts, by misrepresenting the character of the Mexicans, issuing inflammatory appeals, and urging forward the ignorant, the unsuspecting, the adventurous, and the unprincipled, to a participation in the struggle.

Under the erroneous construction of the treaty with Mexico, General Gaines was authorized to cross the boundary line with his army; to march *seventy miles* into the Mexican territory; and to occupy the military post of Nacogdoches, *in case he should judge it expedient in order to guard against Indian depredations!* And further; he was likewise authorized to call upon the governors of several of the *south-western states* for an additional number of troops, *should he consider it necessary.*

In order to furnish an excuse for the exercise of the authority thus delegated to him, many false rumors of Indian depredations and hostile movements, were reported to the commander of the United States forces, and he did not neglect the occasion for pushing to the *very extent* of his conditional instructions. (His proceedings in this case are of so recent date, that they must be familiar to every intelligent reader, and need not be here specified.) He even went so far, that the executive became alarmed, *lest the "neutrality" of our government should be violated!*—and his requisitions upon the governors of Tennessee and Kentucky were countermanded. Yet he is still permitted to keep an imposing force stationed in the Mexican territory; and it is understood that he is in regular correspondence with the chiefs of the insurgent armies; also, that his men are "deserting," and joining them in great numbers.

In stating these facts, it may be well to accompany them with the *proof*—and here it is. How well the plan is devised!—How completely the system works!—What undeniable evidence, too, of a strict "*neutrality*" on our part!!

*From the Pensacola Gazette.*

"About the middle of last month, General Gaines sent an officer of the United

States army into Texas to reclaim some deserters. He found them already enlisted in the Texian service to the number of *two hundred*. They still wore the uniform of our army, but refused, of course, to return. The commander of the Texian forces was applied to, to enforce their return; but his only reply was, that the soldiers might go, but he had no authority to send them back. This is a new view of our Texian relations."

The insurrectionists are thus indirectly encouraged, and assisted, by our government. And the hope is entertained, by those concerned, that the efforts of the Mexicans may be thus paralyzed, and the possession of the territory retained by the revolutionists, until the next meeting of the congress of the United States, when the independence of the *Texian Republic* may be formally acknowledged, and soon thereafter, admitted as an "Independent State," into this confederacy. Thus the "Combination" is fully determined upon. It is the *ultimatum* of their grand design. I repeat, that its members have a majority in the councils of the nation; and as the sentiments of the executive head coincide with theirs, the government is completely under their controlling influence; and their object will certainly be accomplished, UNLESS THE PEOPLE OF OUR FREE STATES AROUSE FROM THEIR APATHY, and by an open, decided, general expression of their sentiments, induce their senators and representatives in congress to oppose the measure.

The institution of an established religion is a grand defect in the organization of the Mexican Republic. But this is nothing more than what may be said of the English, and many other European, as well as American governments. The colonists well knew that none but the established religion was ever tolerated, constitutionally, by the Mexican government, when they took the oath of allegiance to it. Many of them formally embraced the predominant faith, were baptized, renewed their marriage contracts, &c., according to the rites of the Catholic church. But a disposition very generally prevailed among the Mexican people, to tolerate the public exercise of all other professions of the Christian religion; both Methodists and Presbyterians held their meetings, openly, in the colonies, without the least degree of molestation from the government or individuals. Even laws were enacted by Mexicans, providing for their protection in the enjoyment of their religious privileges. Had they shown a disposition to unite with the native inhabitants in supporting the laws of the country, there can be no doubt that these privileges would eventually have been guaranteed them by permanent constitutional regulations.

The following decrees and ordinances are translated from an official compilation, published by authority of the Mexican government, embracing all the public acts of said government, from the period of its organization to the year 1830.

#### DECREE OF JULY 13, 1824.

##### *Prohibition of the Commerce and Traffic in Slaves.*

The Sovereign General Constituent Congress of the United Mexican States has held it right to decree the following:

1. The commerce and traffic in slaves, proceeding from whatever power, and under whatever flag, is for ever prohibited, within the territories of the United Mexican States.
2. The slaves, who may be introduced contrary to the tenor of the preceding article, shall remain free in consequence of treading the Mexican soil.
3. Every vessel, whether national or foreign, in which slaves may be transported and introduced into the Mexican territories, shall be confiscated with the rest of its cargo—and the owner, purchaser, captain, master, and pilot, shall suffer the punishment of ten years' confinement.
4. This law will take effect from the date of its publication; however, as to the punishments prescribed in the preceding article, they shall not take effect till six months after, towards the planters, who, in virtue of the law of the 14th October, relating to the colonization of the Isthmus of Guazacoalco, may disembark slaves for the purpose of introducing them into the Mexican territory.

The Constitution of Coahuila and Texas, promulgated on the 11th of March, 1827, also contains this important article:

- "13. In this state no person shall be born a slave after this Constitution is pub-

looked in the capital of each district, and six months thereafter, neither will the introduction of slaves be permitted under any pretext."

[Translated from page 149, Vol. 5, Mexican laws.]

#### DECREES OF PRESIDENT GUERRERO.

##### *Abolition of Slavery.*

The President of the United Mexican States, to the inhabitants of the Republic—  
Be it known: That in the year 1829, being desirous of signalizing the anniversary of our Independence by an act of national Justice and Beneficence, which may contribute to the strength and support of such inestimable welfare, as to secure more and more the public tranquillity, and reinstate an unfortunate portion of our inhabitants in the sacred rights granted them by nature, and may be protected by the nation, under wise and just laws, according to the provision in article 30 of the Constitutive act; availing myself of the extraordinary faculties granted me, I have thought proper to decree:

1. That slavery be exterminated in the republic.  
2. Consequently those are free, who, up to this day, have been looked upon as slaves.

3. Whenever the circumstances of the public treasury will allow it, the owners of slaves shall be indemnified, in the manner which the laws shall provide.

Mexico, 15th Sept. 1829, A. D.

JOSE MARIA de BOCANEGRA.

[Translation of part of the law of April 6th, 1830, prohibiting the migration of citizens of the United States to Texas.]

ART. 9. On the northern frontier, the entrance of foreigners shall be prohibited, under all pretexts whatever, unless they be furnished with passports, signed by the agents of the republic, at the places whence they proceed.

ART. 10. There shall be no variation with regard to the colonies already established, nor with regard to the slaves that may be in them; but the general government, or the particular state government, shall take care, under the strictest responsibility, that the colonization laws be obeyed, and that NO MORE SLAVES BE INTRODUCED.

#### COLONIZATION LAWS OF COAHUILA AND TEXAS.

ART. 35. The new settlers, in regard to the introduction of slaves, shall be subject to laws which now exist, and which shall hereafter be made on the subject.

ART. 36. The servants and laborers which, in future, foreign colonists shall introduce, shall not, by force of any contract whatever, remain bound to their service a longer space of time than ten years.

Given in the city of Leon, Vicario, 28th April, 1832.

JOSE JESUS GRANDE, *President.*

In the course of my observations, I have several times asserted, that it was the intention of the insurrectionists to establish and perpetuate the system of slavery, by "*Constitutional*" provision. In proof of this, I now quote several paragraphs from the "*CONSTITUTION*" which they lately adopted. This extract is taken from that part under the head of "*General Provisions*," and embraces all that relates to slavery.

Sec. 8. All persons who shall leave the country for the purpose of evading a participation in the present struggle, or shall refuse to participate in it, or shall give aid or assistance to the present enemy, shall forfeit all rights to citizenship, and such lands as they may hold, in the republic.

Sec. 9. All persons of color, who were slaves for life previous to their emigration to Texas, and who are now held in bondage, shall remain in the like state of servitude, provided the said slave shall be the bona fide property of the person so holding said slave as aforesaid. Congress shall pass no laws to prohibit emigrants from the United States of America from bringing their slaves into the republic with them; and holding them by the same tenure by which such slaves were held in the United States; nor shall Congress have the power to emancipate slaves; nor shall any slaveholder be allowed to emancipate his or her slave or slaves, without the consent of Con-

gress, unless he or she shall send him or her slave or slaves without the limits of the republic. No free person of African descent, either in whole or in part, shall be permitted to reside permanently in the republic, without the consent of Congress; and the repatriation or admission of Africans or negroes into this republic, excepting from the United States of America, is for ever prohibited, and declared to be piracy.

Sec. 10. All persons, (*Africans, and the descendants of Africans, and Indians excepted*), who were residing in Texas on the day of the Declaration of Independence, [a great portion of the native Mexican citizens are, of course, *excluded*.] shall be considered citizens of the republic, and entitled to all the privileges of such. All citizens now living in Texas, who have not received their portion of land, in like manner as colonists, shall be entitled to their land in the following proportion and manner: Every head of a family shall be entitled to one league and "labor" of land, and every single man of the age of seventeen and upwards, shall be entitled to the third part of one league of land.

The adoption of a constitution, with such provisions as are here quoted, may be termed the crowning act—the finishing stroke of this monstrous scheme of oppression, so far as the *expressed will* of those concerned in it can be manifested by conventional regulation. When we look back to the commencement of their operations, and trace their movements, step by step, bearing in mind their open declarations upon various occasions, what man of reason and common sense can, for one moment, doubt that the re-establishment of slavery has been their principal object, their settled determination, from the beginning?

I have unfolded to the view of the attentive reader what I *know* to be the motives and intentions of the instigators. I have, by this means, endeavored to undeceive the honest portion of the great American community, who have not had sufficient opportunities to penetrate the veil of their masked designs, and have been imposed upon by their false pretensions. The very acts of the insurgents—even the whole systematic course of their proceedings—prove clearly the correctness of my charges and expositions. It will be seen that, instead of a desire to establish and perpetuate the liberal institutions of freedom and equality of rights, they have taken up arms against the Mexican government from motives of personal aggrandizement, avaricious adventure, and unlimited, enduring oppression. The alarming fact is also clearly and fully substantiated, that the influence of the SLAVEHOLDING PARTY in the United States is now so completely in the ascendant, and so thoroughly sways the deliberations and proceedings of our federal government, that it makes it the passive, if not the active, instrument, in extending and permanently establishing that horrible system of oppression, even in regions where it had been destroyed by the power of moral virtue and republican principle.

The period has indeed arrived—THE CRISIS IS AT HAND—when the wise, the virtuous, the patriotic, the philanthropic of this nation, must examine, and reflect, and *deeply ponder* the momentous subject under consideration. Already we see the newspaper press in some of the free states, openly advocating the system of slavery, with all its outrages and abominations. Individuals occupying influential stations in the community at large, also countenance and encourage it, and even instigate the vile rabble to oppose, maltreat, and trample on the necks of those who dare to plead the cause of the oppressed. At the ensuing session of our national congress, the great battle is to be fought, that must decide the question now at issue, and perhaps even seal the fate of this republic. The senators and representatives of the people will then be called on to sanction the independence of Texas, and also, to provide for its admission, as a SLAVEHOLDING STATE, into this Union. These measures will positively be proposed, in case the Mexican government fails to suppress the insurrection very soon, and to recover the actual possession of the territory. A few of our most eminent statesmen will resist the proposition with energy and zeal; but unless the PUBLIC VOICE be raised against the unhallowed proceeding, and the sentiments of the people be most unequivocally expressed in the loudest tones of disapprobation, they will be unable to withstand the influence and power of their antagonists. Arouse, then! and let your voice be heard through your primary assemblies, your legislative halls, and the columns of the periodical press, in every section of your country!

Citizens of the United States!—Sons of the Pilgrims, and disciples of Wesley

and Penn? Coadjutors and pupils of Washington, Jefferson, and Franklin?—Advocates of freedom and the sacred “rights of man!” Will you longer shut your eyes, and slumber in apathy, while the demon of oppression is thus stalking over the plains consecrated to the genius of liberty, and fertilized by the blood of her numerous martyrs?—Will you permit the authors of this gigantic project of national aggression, interminable slavery, and Heaven-daring injustice, to perfect their diabolical schemes through your supineness, or with the sanction of your acquiescence? If they succeed in the accomplishment of their object, where will be your guarantee for the liberty which you, yourselves enjoy? When the advocates of slavery shall obtain the balance of power in this confederation; when they shall have corrupted a few more of the aspirants to office among you, and opened an illimitable field for the operations of your heartless land-jobbers and slave-merchants, (to secure their influence in effecting the unholy purposes of their abolition,) how long will you be able to resist the encroachments of their tyrannical influence, or prevent them from usurping and exercising authority over you? **ARISE IN THE MAJESTY OF MORAL POWER,** and place the seal of condemnation upon this flagrant violation of national laws, of human rights, and the eternal, immutable principles of justice.—*National Enquirer of Philadelphia.*

### JOHN Q. ADAMS.

Sir, in the authority given to congress by the constitution of the United States to *declare war*, all the powers incidental to war are, by necessary implication, conferred upon the government of the United States. Now, the powers incidental to *war*, are derived, not from internal municipal sources, but from the laws and usages of nations. In your relations with the Indian tribes, you never declare war, though you do make and break treaties with them, whenever either to make or to break treaties with them, happens to suit the purposes of the President and a majority of both houses of congress. For, in this matter, you have set aside the judiciary department of the government as effectually as if there were none such in the constitution.

There are, then, Mr. Chairman, in the authority of congress and of the Executive, two classes of powers, altogether different in their nature, and often incompatible with each other; the war power and the peace power. The peace power is limited by regulations, and restricted by provisions, prescribed within the constitution itself. The war power is limited only by the laws and usages of nations. The power is tremendous: it is strictly constitutional, but it breaks down every barrier so anxiously erected for the protection of liberty, of property, and of life. This, sir, is the power which authorizes you to pass the resolution now before you, and, in my opinion, there is no other.

And it was upon that same principle, that I voted *against* the resolution reported by the slavery committee, “that congress possess no constitutional authority to interfere, in any way, with the institution of slavery in any of the states of this confederacy,” to which resolution most of those with whom I usually concur, and even my own colleagues in this House, gave their assent. I do not admit that there is, even among the peace powers of congress, no such authority; but in *war* there are many ways by which congress not only have the authority, but are bound to interfere with the institution of slavery in the states. The existing law prohibiting the importation of slaves into the United States from foreign countries, is itself an interference with the institution of slavery in the states. It was so considered by the founders of the constitution of the United States, in which it was stipulated that congress should not interfere, in that way, with the institution, prior to 1808.

During the late war with Great Britain, the military and naval commanders of that nation, issued proclamations inviting the slaves to repair to their standards, with promises of freedom and of settlement in some of the British colonial establishments. This, surely, was an interference with the institution of slavery in the states. By the treaty of peace, Great Britain stipulated to evacuate all the forts and places in the United States, without carrying away any slaves. If the government of the United States had no authority to interfere, in any way, with the institution

of slavery in the states, they would not have had the authority to require this stipulation. It is well known that this engagement was not fulfilled by the British naval and military commanders; that, on the contrary, they did carry away all the slaves whom they had induced to join them, and that the British government inflexibly refused to restore any of them to their masters; that a claim of indemnity was consequently instituted in behalf of the owners of the slaves, and was successfully maintained. All that series of transactions was an interference by congress with the institution of slavery in the states in one way—in the way of protection and support. It was by the institution of slavery alone, that the restitution of slaves enticed by proclamation into the British service could be claimed as *property*. But for the institution of slavery, the British commanders could neither have allured them to their standard, nor restored them otherwise than as liberated prisoners of war. But for the institution of slavery, there could have been no stipulation that they should not be carried away as property, nor any claim of indemnity for the violation of that engagement.

But the war power of congress over the institution of slavery in the states is yet far more extensive. Suppose the case of a servile war, complicated, as to some extent it is even now, with an Indian war; suppose congress were called to raise armies; to supply money from the whole Union to suppress a servile insurrection: would they have no authority to interfere with the institution of slavery? The issue of a servile war may be disastrous. By war, the slave may emancipate himself; it may become necessary for the master to recognise his emancipation, by a treaty of peace; can it, for an instant, be pretended that congress, in such a contingency, would have no authority to interfere with the institution of slavery, in *any way*, in the states? Why, it would be equivalent to saying, that congress have no constitutional authority to make peace.

I suppose a more portentous case, certainly within the bounds of possibility.—I would to God I could say not within the bounds of probability. You have been, if you are not now, at the very point of a war with Mexico—a war, I am sorry to say, so far as public rumor is credited, stimulated by provocations on our part from the very commencement of this Administration down to the recent authority given to General Gaines to invade the Mexican territory. It is said, that one of the earliest acts of this Administration, was a proposal made at a time when there was already much ill-humor in Mexico against the United States, that she should cede to the United States a very large portion of her territory—large enough to constitute nine states equal in extent to Kentucky. It must be confessed, that, a device better calculated to produce jealousy, suspicion, ill-will, and hatred, could not have been contrived. It is further affirmed, that this overture, offensive in itself, was made precisely at the time when a swarm of colonists from these United States were covering the Mexican border with land-jobbing, and with slaves, introduced in defiance of the Mexican laws, by which slavery had been abolished throughout that republic. The war now raging in Texas is a Mexican civil war, and a war for the re-establishment of slavery where it was abolished. It is not a servile war, but a war between slavery and emancipation, and every possible effort has been made to drive us into the war, on the side of slavery.

Sir, far be it from me to depreciate the glories of the Anglo-Saxon race; although there have been times when they bowed their necks and submitted to the law of conquest, beneath the ascendancy of the Norman race. But, sir, it has struck me as no inconsiderable evidence of the spirit which is spurring us into this war of aggression, of conquest, and of slave-making, that all the fires of ancient, hereditary national hatred are to be kindled, to familiarize us with the ferocious spirit of rejoicing at the massacre of prisoners in cold blood. Sir, is there not yet hatred enough, between the races which compose your southern population, and the population of Mexico, their next neighbor, but you must go back eight hundred or a thousand years, and to another hemisphere, for the fountains of bitterness between you and them? What is the temper of feeling between the component parts of your own southern population, between your Anglo-Saxon, Norman-French, and Moorish-Spanish inhabitants of Louisiana, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Missouri? between them all and the Indian savage, the original possessor of the land from which you are scourging him already back to the foot of the Rocky Mountains? What between them all and the American negro, of African origin, whom they are holding in cruel bondage? Are these elements of harmony, concord, and patriotism between

the component parts of a nation starting upon a crusade of conquest? And what are the feelings of all this motley compound equally heterogeneous of the Mexican population? Do not you, an Anglo-Saxon, slaveholding extirpator of Indians, from the bottom of your soul, hate the Mexican-Spaniard-Indian emancipator of slaves, and abolisher of slavery? And do you think that your hatred is not with equal cordiality returned? Go to the city of Mexico, ask any one of your fellow-citizens who have been there for the last three or four years, whether they scarcely dare show their faces, as Anglo-Americans, in the streets. Be assured, sir, that, however heartily you detest the Mexican, his scorn burns with an equally deep-seated detestation of you.

And this is the nation with which, at the instigation of your Executive Government, you are now rushing into war—into a war of conquest; commenced by aggression on your part, and for the re-establishment of slavery, where it has been abolished, throughout the Mexican republic. For your war will be with Mexico—with a republic of twenty-four states, and a population of eight or nine millions of souls. It seems to be considered that this victory over twelve hundred men, with the capture of their commander, the President of the Mexican republic, has already achieved the conquest of the whole republic. That it may have achieved the independence of Texas, is not impossible. But Texas is to the Mexican republic not more nor so much as the state of Michigan is to yours. That state of Michigan, the people of which are in vain claiming of you the performance of that sacred promise you made them, of admitting her as a state into the Union; that state of Michigan, which has greater grievances and heavier wrongs to allege against you for a declaration of her independence, if she were disposed to declare it, than the people of Texas have for breaking off their union with the republic of Mexico.

And again I ask, what will be your cause in such a war? Aggression, conquest, and the re-establishment of slavery, where it has been abolished. In that war, sir, the banners of *freedom* will be the banners of Mexico; and your banners, I blush to speak the word, will be the banners of slavery.

Sir, in considering these United States and the Mexican States as mere masses of power coming to collision against each other, I cannot doubt that Mexico will be the greatest sufferer by the shock. The conquest of all Mexico would seem to be no improbable result of the conflict, especially if the war should extend no further than to the two mighty combatants. But will it be so confined? Mexico is clearly the weakest of the two powers, but she is not the least prepared for action. She has the more recent experience of war. She has the greatest number of veteran warriors; and although her highest chief has just suffered a fatal and ignominious defeat, yet that has happened often before to leaders of armies too confident of success and contemptuous of their enemy.—Even now, Mexico is better prepared for a war of invasion upon her. There may be found a successor to Santa Anna, inflamed with the desire, not only of avenging her disaster, but what he and his nation will consider your perfidious hostility. The national spirit may go with him. He may not only turn the tables upon the Texian conquerors; but, drive them for refuge within your borders, and pursue them into the heart of your own territories. Are you in a condition to resist him? Is the success of your whole army, and all your veteran generals, and all your militia-calls, and all your mutinous volunteers against a miserable band of five or six hundred invisible Seminole Indians, in your late campaign, an earnest of the energy and vigor with which you are ready to carry on this, far otherwise formidable and complicated war?—complicated, did I say? And how complicated? Your Seminole war is already spreading to the Creeks, and, in their march of desolation, they sweep along with them your negro slaves, and put arms into their hands to make common cause with them against you, and how far will it spread, sir, should a Mexican invader, with the torch of liberty in his hand, and the standard of freedom floating over his head, proclaiming emancipation to the slave, and revenge to the native Indian, as he goes, invade your soil? What will be the condition of your states of Louisiana, of Mississippi, of Alabama, of Arkansas, of Missouri, and of Georgia? Where will be your negroes? Where will be that combined and concentrated mass of Indian tribes, whom, by an inconsiderate policy, you have expelled from their widely distant habitations, to embody them within a small compass on the very borders of Mexico, as if on purpose to give that country a nation of natural allies in their hostilities against you? Sir, you have a Mexican, an Indian, and a negro war upon your hands, and you are plunging



yourself into it blindfold; you are talking about acknowledging the independence of the republic of Texas, and you are thirsting to annex Texas, ay, Coahuila, and Tamaulipas, and Santa Fe, from the sources to the mouth of the Rio Bravo, to your already over-distended dominions. Five hundred thousand square miles of the territory of Mexico would not even now quench your burning thirst for aggrandizement.

But will your foreign war for this be with Mexico alone? No, sir. As the weaker party, Mexico, when the contest shall have once begun, will look abroad, as well as among your negroes, and your Indians, for assistance. Neither Great Britain nor France will suffer you to make such a conquest from Mexico; no, nor even to annex the independent state of Texas to your confederation, without their interposition. You will have an Anglo-Saxon intertwined with a Mexican war to wage. Great Britain may have no serious objection to the independence of Texas, and may be willing enough to take her under her protection, as a barrier both against Mexico and against you. But, as aggrandizement to you she will not readily suffer it; and, above all, she will not suffer you to acquire it by conquest and the re-establishment of slavery. Urged on by the irresistible, overwhelming torrent of public opinion, Great Britain has recently, at a cost of one hundred millions of dollars, which her people have joyfully paid, abolished slavery throughout all her colonies in the West Indies. After setting such an example, she will not—it is impossible that she should—stand by and witness a war, for the re-establishment of slavery; where it had been for years abolished, and situated thus in the immediate neighborhood of her islands. She will tell you, that if you must have Texas as a member of your confederacy, it must be without the trammels of slavery, and if you will wage a war to handcuff and fetter your fellow-man, she will wage the war against you to break his chains. Sir, what a figure, in the eyes of mankind, would you make, in deadly conflict with Great Britain: she fighting the battles of emancipation, and you the battles of slavery; she the benefactress, and you the oppressor, of human kind! In such a war, the enthusiasm of emancipation, too, would unite vast numbers of her people in aid of the national rivalry, and all her natural jealousy against our aggrandizement. No war was ever so popular in England, as that war would be against slavery, the slave-trade, and the Anglo-Saxon descendant from her own loins.

As to the annexation of Texas to your confederation, for what do you want it? Are you not large and unwieldy enough already? Do not two millions of square miles cover surface enough for the insatiate rapacity of your land-jobbers? I hope there are none of them within the sound of my voice. Have you not Indians enough to expel from the land of their fathers' sepulchres, and to exterminate? What, in a prudential and military point of view, would be the addition of Texas to your domain? It would be weakness, and not power. Is your southern and southwestern frontier not sufficiently extensive? not sufficiently feeble? not sufficiently defenceless? Why are you adding regiment after regiment of dragoons to your standing army? Why are you struggling, by direction and by indirection, to raise *per saltum* that army from less than six to more than twenty thousand men? Your commanding general, now returning from his excursion to Florida, openly recommends the increase of your army to that number. Sir, the extension of your seacoast frontier from the Sabine to the Rio Bravo would add to your weakness a fold; for it is only weakness with reference to Mexico. It would then be weakness with reference to Great Britain, to France, even perhaps to Russia, to every naval European power, which might make a quarrel with us for the sake of settling a colony; but above all, to Great Britain. She, by her naval power, and by her American colonies, holds the keys of the Gulf of Mexico. What would be the condition of your frontier from the mouth of the Mississippi to the mouth of the Rio del Norte, in the event of a war with Great Britain. Sir, the reasons of Mr. Monroe for accepting the Sabine as the boundary were three. First, he had no confidence in the strength of our claim as far as the Rio Bravo; secondly, he thought it would make our Union so heavy that it would break into fragments by its own weight; thirdly, he thought it would protrude a long line of seacoast, which, in our first war with Great Britain, she might take into her own possession, and which we should be able neither to defend nor recover. At that time, there was no question of slavery or of abolition involved in the controversy. The country belonged to Spain: it was a wilderness, and slavery was the established law of the land. There was then no project for carving out nine slave states, to hold eighteen seats in the other wing of this capitol, in the triangle between the mouth; and the sources of

the Mississippi and Bravo rivers. But what was our claim? Why it was that La Salle, having discovered the mouth of the Mississippi, and France having made a settlement at New Orleans, France had a right to one half the seacoast from the mouth of the Mississippi to the next Spanish settlement which was Vera Cruz. The mouth of the Rio Bravo was about half way from the Balizo to Vera Cruz; and so as grantees, from France of Louisiana, we claimed the Rio del Norte, though the Spanish settlement of Santa Fe was at the head of that river. France, from whom we had received Louisiana, utterly disclaimed ever having even raised such a pretension. Still we made the best of the claim that we could, and finally yielded it for the Floridas, and for the line of the forty-second degree of latitude from the source of the Arkansas river to the South Sea. Such was our claim; and you may judge how much confidence Mr. Monroe could have in its validity. The great object and desire of the country then was to obtain the Floridas. It was General Jackson's desire; and in that conference with me to which I have heretofore alluded, and which it is said he does not recollect, he said to me that so long as the Florida rivers were not in our possession, there could be no safety for our whole southern country.

But, sir, suppose you should annex Texas to these United States; another year would not pass before you would have to engage in a war for the conquest of the island of Cuba. What is now the condition of the island?—Still under the nominal protection of Spain. And what is the condition of Spain herself? Consuming her own vitals in a civil war for the succession of the crown. Do you expect, that whatever may be the issue of that war, she can retain even the nominal possession of Cuba? After having lost *all* her continental colonies in North and South America, Cuba will stand in need of more efficient protection; and above all, the protection of a naval power. Suppose that naval power should be Great Britain. There is Cuba at your very door; and if you spread yourself along a naked coast, from the Sabine to the Rio Bravo, what will be your relative position towards Great Britain, with not only Jamaica, but Cuba, and Porto Rico in her hands, and abolition for the motto to her union cross of St. George and St. Andrew?

If by the utter imbecility of the Mexican confederacy, this revolt of Texas should lead immediately to its separation from that republic, and its annexation to the United States, I believe it impossible that Great Britain should look on, while this operation is performing, with indifference. She will see that it must shake her own whole colonial power on this continent, in the Gulf of Mexico, and in the Caribbean seas, like an earthquake; she will see, too, that it endangers her own abolition of slavery in her own colonies. A war for the restoration of slavery, where it has been abolished, if successful in Texas, must extend over all Mexico; and the example will threaten her with imminent danger of a war of colors in her own islands. She will take possession of Cuba and of Porto Rico, by cession from Spain, or by the batteries from her wooden walls; and if you ask her by what authority she has done it, she will ask you, in return, by what authority you have extended your seacoast from the Sabine to the Rio Bravo. She will ask you a question more perplexing, namely—by what authority you, with freedom, independence, and democracy upon your lips, are waging a war of extermination to forge new manacles and fetters, instead of those which are falling from the hands and feet of man. She will carry emancipation and abolition with her in every fold of her flag; while your stars, as they increase in numbers, will be overcast with the murky vapors of oppression, and the only portion of your banners visible to the eye, will be the blood-stained stripes of the task master!

Mr. Chairman, are you ready for all these wars? A Mexican war? a war with Great Britain, if not with France? a general Indian war? a servile war? and as an inevitable consequence of them all, a civil war? For it must ultimately terminate in a war of colors as well as of races. And do you imagine that while with your eyes open you are wilfully kindling, and then closing your eyes and blindly rushing into them; do you imagine that while, in the very nature of things, your own southern and southwestern states must be the Flanders of these complicated wars, the battle-field upon which the last great conflict must be fought between slavery and emancipation; do you imagine that your congress will have no constitutional authority to interfere with the institution of slavery, in *any* way, in the states of this confederacy? Sir, they must and will interfere with it—perhaps to sustain it by war; perhaps to abolish it by treaties of peace; and they will not only

possess the constitutional power so to interfere, but they will be bound in duty to do it by the express provisions of the constitution itself. From the instant that your slaveholding states become the theatre of war, civil, servile, or foreign, from that instant the war powers of congress extend to interference with the institution of slavery in every way by which it can be interfered with, from a claim of indemnity for slaves taken or destroyed, to the cession of the state burdened with slavery to a foreign power.

Sir, it is by virtue of this same war power, as now brought into exercise by this Indian war in Florida, Alabama, and Georgia, that I vote for the resolution before the committee. By virtue of this, I have already voted in the course of this session to increase your standing army by a second regiment of dragoons, to authorize you, President to accept the services of ten thousand volunteers, and to appropriate millions of the public money to suppress these Indian hostilities—all for the common defence, all for the general welfare. And if, on this occasion, I have been compelled to avail myself of the opportunity to assign my reasons for voting against the first resolution reported by the slavery committee, it is because it was the pleasure of the majority of the House this morning to refuse me the permission to assign my reasons—or my vote, when the question was put upon those resolutions themselves.

Sir, it is a melancholy contemplation to me, and raises fearful forebodings in my mind, when I consider the manner in which that report and those resolutions have been disposed of by this House. I have twice asked permission of this House to offer two resolutions calling for information from the President upon subjects of infinite importance to this question of slavery, in our relations with Mexico, and to the peace of the country. When I last made the attempt, a majority of the House voted by yeas and nays to suspend the rules to enable me to offer one of the two resolutions—but the majority not amounting to two-thirds, my resolution has not yet obtained from the House the favor of being considered. Had it been the pleasure of the House to indulge the call, or to allow me the privilege of assigning my reasons for my vote on the resolution this morning, the remarks that I have now made might have been deemed more appropriate to those topics of discussion, than to the question more immediately now before the committee. They are reflections, however, which I deem it not less indispensable to make, when they are painful to be made—extorted from me by a condition of public affairs unexampled in the history of this country. Heretofore, calls upon the executive department for information, such as that which I have proposed to make, were considered as among the rights of the members of this House, which it was scarcely deemed decent to resist. A previous question, smothering all discussion upon resolutions reported by a committee, affecting the vital principles of the Constitution, moved by one of the members who reported the resolutions, and sustained by the members of that committee itself, is an occurrence which never before happened in the annals of this government.

The adoption of those resolutions of the House had not even been moved. Upon the mere question whether an extra number of the reports of the committee should be printed, a member moves the recommitment of the report, with instructions to report a new resolution. On this motion the previous question is moved, and the Speaker declares that the main question is not on the motion to recommit, not on the motion to print an extra number of copies of the report, but upon the adoption of three resolutions, reported, but never even moved in the House. If this is to be the sample of our future legislation, it is time to awake from the delusion, that freedom of speech is among the rights of the members of the minority of this House.

Little reason have the inhabitants of Georgia and of Alabama to complain that the government of the United States has been remiss or neglectful in protecting them from Indian hostilities; the fact is directly the reverse. The people of Alabama and Georgia are now suffering the recoil of their own unlawful weapons. Georgia, sir, Georgia, by trampling upon the faith of our national treaties with the Indian tribes, and by subjecting them to her state laws, first set the example of that policy which is now in the process of consummation by this Indian war. In setting this example, she bade defiance to the authority of the government of the nation; she nullified your laws; she set at naught your executive guardians of the common Constitution of the land. To what extent she carried this policy, the dungeons of her prisons and the records of the Supreme Judicial Court of the United States can tell. To those prisons she committed inoffensive, innocent, pious

ministers of the gospel of truth, for carrying the light, the comforts, and the consolations of that gospel to the hearts and minds of these unhappy Indians. A solemn decision of the Supreme Court of the United States pronounced that act a violation of your treaties and of your laws. Georgia defied that decision; your executive government never carried it into execution; the imprisoned missionaries of the gospel were compelled to purchase their ransom from perpetual captivity, by sacrificing their rights as freemen to the meekness of their principles as Christians; and you have sanctioned all these outrages upon justice, law, and humanity, by succumbing to the power and the policy of Georgia, by accommodating your legislation to her arbitrary will; by tearing to tatters your old treaties with the Indians, and by constraining them, under *pains forte et dure*, to the mockery of signing other treaties with you, which, at the first moment when it shall suit your purpose, you will again tear to tatters and scatter to the four winds of heaven, till the Indian race shall be extinct upon this continent, and it shall become a pre-*len*, beyond the solution of antiquaries and historical societies, *what* the red man of the forest was.

This, sir, is the remote and primitive cause of the present Indian war: your own injustice, sanctioning and sustaining that of Georgia and Alabama. This system of policy was first introduced by the present administration of your national government. It is directly the reverse of that system which had been pursued by all the preceding administrations of this government under the present Constitution. That system consisted in the most anxious and persevering efforts to civilize the Indians; to attach them to the soil upon which they lived; to enlighten their minds, to soften and to humanize their hearts; to fix in permanency their habitations; and to turn them from the wandering, and precarious pursuits of the hunter, to the tillage of the ground, to the cultivation of corn and cotton; to the comforts of the fireside; to the delights of home. This was the system of Washington and of Jefferson, steadily pursued by all their successors, and to which all your treaties and all your laws of intercourse with the Indian tribes were accommodated. The whole system is now broken up; and instead of it you have adopted that of expelling by force or by compact, all the Indian tribes from their own territories and dwellings, to a region beyond the Mississippi, beyond the Missouri, beyond the Arkansas, bordering upon Mexico; and there you have deluded them with the hope that they will find a permanent abode—a final resting place from your never ending rapacity and persecution. There you have undertaken to lead the willing and to drive the reluctant, by fraud or by force: by treaty, or by the sword and the rifle; all the remnants of the Seminoles, of the Creeks, of the Cherokees, of the Choctaws, and of how many other tribes I cannot now stop to enumerate. In the process of this violent and senseless operation, you have met with all the resistance which men in so helpless a condition as that of the Indian tribes could make. Of the immediate causes of the war we are not yet fully informed; but I fear you will find them, like the *remote* causes, all attributable to yourselves. It is in the last agonies of a people, forcibly torn and driven from the soil which they had inherited from their fathers, and which your own example, and exhortations, and instructions, and treaties, had riveted more closely to their hearts; it is in the last convulsive struggles of their despair, that this war has originated; and if it brings with it even a portion of the retributive justice of heaven upon our own people, it is our melancholy duty to mitigate, as far as the public resources of the national treasury will permit, the distress of the innocent of our own kindred and blood, suffering under the necessary consequences of our own wrong. I shall vote for the resolution.\*—  
*Speech in the House of Representatives, May, 1836.*

\* This speech was delivered without premeditation or notes. No report of it was made by any of the usual reporters for the newspapers. Mr. Adams has written it out himself, from recollection, at the request of several of his friends, for publication. It is, of course, not in the precise language used by him in the House. There are some amplifications of the arguments which he used, and, perhaps, some omissions which have escaped his recollection. The substance of the speech is the same.

[The Arms on the coin of the Mexican Republic, are Freedom's Eagle destroying the Serpent—Tyranny; and its reverse bears the Cap of Liberty, diffusing its radiance universally.]



Slavery is a dark spot on the face of the nation'—Lafayette.

[The following brief extracts confirm Mr. Adams' opinion, that Great Britain is not indifferent to this monstrous outrage on the laws of nature and of nations.]

### LONDON PATRIOT.

The British public ought to be made aware of what is going on at present in Texas; of the true cause and the true nature of the contest between the Mexican authorities and the American slave-jobbers.

Texas has long been the Naboth's vineyard of brother Jonathan. For twenty years or more, an anxiety has been manifested to push back the boundary of the United States' territory, of which the Sabine river is the agreed line, so as to include the rich alluvial lands of the delta of the Colorado, at the head of the Gulf of Mexico. There are stronger passions at work, however, than the mere lust of territory—deeper interests at stake. Texas belongs to a republic which has abolished slavery; the object of the Americans is to convert it into a slaveholding state; not only to make it the field of slave cultivation, and a market for the Maryland slave-trade, but, by annexing it to the Federal Union, to strengthen in congress the preponderating influence of the southern slaveholding states.

This atrocious project is the real origin and cause of the pretended contest for Texian independence—a war, on the part of the United States, of unprovoked aggression for the vilest of all purposes.—*July 6, 1836.*

### HOUSE OF COMMONS—August 6.

#### TEXAS.

Mr. B. Hov rose to bring forward the motion of which he had given notice. It was on a subject of the utmost importance to the cause of humanity, of immense importance to our colonial possessions, and to our merchants who had embarked seventy millions of dollars in Mexico. If the United States were suffered to wrest Texas from Mexico, would not Cuba, and other Mexican possessions, fall a prey to the United States? The war now going on in Texas was a war not for independence, but for slavery; and he would contend, that should the revolt in Texas be successful, that province would still be bound by the treaty Mexico entered into with this country when Texas formed part of the Mexican dominions, to prevent the carrying on of the slave-trade within its territory; the number of states in the Union had originally been thirteen; they were now increased to twenty-six, and if Texas were added to the Union, there could be no doubt the basis of the connection would be to establish slavery and the slave-trade permanently in that province. He begged to ask the noble lord opposite, Lord Palmerston, if within the last ten days he had not received an application from the Mexican government for the good offices of this country to remonstrate with the United States against the gross violation of treaties, and the aggressions of their southern state.

He was of opinion that England ought not only to remonstrate with America, but to have a naval force on the coast to support Mexico against American aggressions.

The honorable member concluded by moving, "That an humble address be presented to the Crown, praying that his Majesty will be graciously pleased to direct that such measures be taken as to his Majesty may seem proper, to secure the fulfilment of the existing treaty between this country and Mexico, and to prevent the establishment of slavery and traffic in slaves, in the province of Texas, in the Mexican territory."

Mr. H. G. WARD seconded the amendment, which involved a subject upon which he had been long and was deeply interested. The importance of Texas was but little known in this house or by the country. The province itself consisted of a large tract of the finest land, it had numerous good and only two bad ports, and the possession of it would give to the parties obtaining it the full command of the whole Gulf of Mexico. The Mexican government on its first intercourse with this country, an intercourse of increased and still increasing commercial importance to

this country, had stipulated for the abolition in its territory of the slave-trade, and he (Mr. Ward, could state that this stipulation had been most rigidly enforced and observed, and he did not believe that there were now in the Mexican states, except Texas, twenty slaves. To Texas, the United States had long turned covetous eyes, and to obtain possession of that province had been the first object of its policy. During his residence in Mexico, America contrived to have a proposal made to the Mexican government offering ten millions of dollars for certain privileges in Texas, and that proposition having been refused, America then proceeded to encourage the settlement of Texas with the refuse of her own southern states, who took possession of the land without title, or pretension to any title, and thus drew into it a population exclusively slave and American. A declaration of independence next followed. That declaration issued from men recognising no law, and signed by only one Mexican, the President of the Province, a man of talent, it was true, but who had dealt most largely in Texas lands, and sought his own advantage. He was supposed to have formed a connexion with some influential men of the American Cabinet, and amongst them with Mr. Forsyth. What then had followed?—America having created a population in Texas in the way he had stated, and having given to it every possible assistance, a committee of foreign relations in the senate, came in with a report signed by Mr. Clay, for whom he entertained a high respect, discussing the necessity of recognising the declaration of the independence of Texas. The tendency of the whole report was to show the propriety at a future time, to annex Texas to the United States. The question, therefore, for the house to consider was—first, the general policy of allowing a state, without remonstrance, to extend itself, and thus put an end to the trade between this country and Mexico—the connexion between which could be completely cut off by a few American privateers ensconced in the Texian ports. The principle had been disclaimed in 1835, when it was proposed to annex part of Cuba to the United States, and that instance ought to guide this country in not allowing this contemplated extension of the American territory. The next consideration was, whether the country would now allow a renewal and an increase of the slave-trade? Such would be the result of this policy on the part of America, and from a pamphlet he had received this day, it appeared that the non-slavery states of America had themselves been roused to a sense of their own danger if that policy were successful. It was well known that there had long been a struggle between the slave states and the non-slave states in congress, and parties were equally balanced; but if Texas should eventually be annexed to the Federal Union, eighteen votes in congress at Washington would be added to those in favor of that most degrading feature in the civilized world—slavery. On all these grounds, he most cordially supported the motion of the honorable member from Southampton. (*Hear, hear.*)—*Speech of Mr. H. G. Ward, formerly Envoy Extraordinary to Mexico from England.*

Mr. F. Buxton expressed his belief that if the Americans should obtain possession of Texas, which had been truly described as forming one of the fairest harbors in the world, a greater impulse would be given to the slave-trade than had been experienced for many years. If the British government did not interfere to prevent the Texian territory from falling into the hands of the American slaveholders, in all probability a greater traffic in slaves would be carried on during the next fifty years, than had ever before existed. The war at present being waged in Texas, differed from any war which had ever been heard of.

It was not a war for the extension of territory—it was not a war of aggression—it was not one undertaken for the advancement of national glory; it was a war which had for its sole object the obtaining of a market for slaves—(*hear, hear.*) He would not say that the American government connived at the proceedings which had taken place; but it was notorious that the Texians had been supplied with munitions of war of all sorts by the slaveholders of the United States—(*hear, hear.*) Without meaning to cast any censure upon the government, he thought that the house had a right to demand that the secretary for foreign affairs adopt strong measures to prevent the establishment of a new and more extensive market for the slave-trade than had ever before existed.—*London Times.*

## WILLIAM B. REED.

Every member of congress from this state, with one or two exceptions, sustained the prohibition of slavery on the ground of its consistency with Pennsylvania principles; and in their course, let it be remembered, they were cheered and encouraged by the positive and peremptory instructions of the legislature. Those instructions are now before me, and I submit a portion of them to the consideration of the House, as being a renewed expression of two opinions of 1780. They form a link between the principles contained in the act of abolition, and one other legislative precedent of a later date, presently to be referred to.—These resolutions were passed on the 22d of December, 1819.

"The senate and house of representatives of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania, whilst they cherish the right of the individual states to express their opinions upon all public measures proposed in the congress of the Union, are aware that its usefulness must, in a great degree, depend upon the discretion with which it is exercised; they believe that the right ought not to be resorted to, upon trivial subjects or unimportant occasions; but they are also persuaded, that there are moments when the neglect to exercise it would be a dereliction of public duty.

"Such an occasion as in their judgment demands the frank expression of the sentiments of Pennsylvania, is now presented.

"Under these convictions, and in the full persuasion that upon this topic *there is but one opinion in Pennsylvania*,

"Resolved, That the senators and representatives of this state in the congress of the United States be, and they are hereby requested to vote against the admission of any territory, as a state, into the Union, unless 'the further introduction of slavery or involuntary servitude, except the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall be prohibited, and all children born within the said territory, after its admission into the Union as a state, shall be free.'"

The last precedent to which I shall refer the House on this subject, is the resolution of the 23d of January, 1829, relative to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, which instructed our senators and representatives to procure, if practicable, the passage of a law to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, in such a manner as they may consider consistent with the rights of individuals, and the constitution of the United States. You, Mr. Speaker, will recollect this resolution, and that it received nearly the unanimous sanction of both branches of the legislature.

Such, then, are the recorded sentiments, the voluntary and unsolicited expressions of Pennsylvania legislation on this subject of domestic slavery, as a matter of national, as well as municipal concern, and the question recurs whether at this hour of invigorated philanthropy and intelligence, when we are forced, as has been shown, to the utterance of our sentiments, we shall disavow these cherished views. If the swords of the Texians should win for them an existence independent of Mexico, it must necessarily be so precarious, that application for admission into our Union would follow as a measure of necessary self-defence. One of the complaints made by the Texians is that the Mexican government will not permit the introduction of slaves, and one of the first fruits of independence and secure liberty (unnatural as is the paradox) will be the extension of slavery, and both the domestic and foreign slave-trade, over the limits of a territory large enough to form five states as large as Pennsylvania. Such being the result, what becomes of any real or imaginary balance between the South and the North—the slaveholding and non-slaveholding interests? Five or more slaveholding states, with their additional representation, thoroughly imbued with southern feeling, thoroughly attached to what the South Carolina resolutions, now before us, call "the patriarchal institution of domestic slavery," added to the Union, and where is the security of the North, and of the interests of free labor?—These are questions worth considering—the more so, as the war fever which is now burning in the veins of this community, and exhibiting itself in all the usual unreflecting expressions of sympathy and resentment, has disturbed the judgment of the nation, and distorted every notion of right and wrong. Let the Texians win independence as they can. That is their affair, not ours. But let no statesman that loves his country think of admitting such an increment of slaveholding population into this Union. He (Mr. R.) could not but fear that there



was a deep laid plan to admit Texas into the Union, with a view to an increase of slaveholding representation in congress; and while he viewed it, in connexion with the growing indifference perceptible in some quarters, he could not but feel melancholy forebodings.—*Speech in the Pennsylvania House of Representatives, June 11th, 1836.*

The following document, considering the avowed character of the gentlemen whose names are signed to it, and attest its truth, is entitled to a place in our columns:—*National Intelligencer.*

### TO THE PUBLIC.

The undersigned deem it an act of justice, not to themselves alone, but to the community of which they are members, more especially to those whose generous sympathies were so deeply enlisted in the cause of Texas, to make known the causes which have induced them to abandon an enterprise in which they embarked with so many fond and flattering hopes. They would have been glad to have been spared this painful task. They take no pleasure in the performance of an act which may tend to check the universal current of kindness and sympathy which has been manifested by the people of Kentucky towards the people of Texas, from the beginning of their revolution down to the present time. They have too distinct a recollection of their own feelings when they quitted their homes, to aid the cause, as they then thought, of civil and religious freedom, not to know that their return and this brief expose of their motives which induced it, will cause a pang of mortification in many bosoms which now throb with exultation in the hope of Texian freedom. Nothing but a sense of duty—of the obligation which rests upon them to justify themselves to the world, could now impel them to expose the unhappy civil and political condition of Texas, to declare, as they now do, their solemn convictions of her total unworthiness of aid and sympathy. We might perhaps be content with this declaration of our opinions, but we will proceed briefly to fortify these opinions by a detail of facts.

We will not dwell upon the false assurances made to us by men professing to be the accredited agents of Texas in this country. At a time when the cause of Texas was dark and gloomy, when Santa Anna seemed designed to carry desolation over the whole country, those men were prodigal of promises, and professing to be authorized to speak in the name of the Texian Government, made assurances of ultimate remuneration, which they knew at the time to be false, and which time proved to be so.

We now state that our personal observation and undoubted information enabled us fully to perceive, 1st. That the present population of Texas seemed wholly incapable of a just idea of civil and political liberty, and that, so far as the extension of liberal principles is concerned, it is of but little moment whether Mexico or Texas succeed in the struggle.

2d. That the mass of the people, from the highest functionary of their pretended government to the humblest citizen (with but few exceptions), are animated alone by a desire of plunder, and appear totally indifferent whom they plunder, friends or foes.

3d. That even now there is really no organized government in the country, no laws administered, no judiciary, a perpetual struggle going on between the civil and military departments, and neither having the confidence of the people, or being worthy of it. We will here state one or two facts, which may tend to show the estimation in which they are respectively held by each other, and their capacity to enforce their orders. The *Secretary of War* came down with a quartermaster, and steamboat to carry his loading, consisting of provisions, clothing, &c., to the main army. Captain *Switzer*, volunteer emigrant from Ohio, who had lately arrived, wanted some clothing for his men, and determined that unless he was first supplied with such articles as he desired, the expedition should not proceed. He took possession of the fort under the command of Colonel Morgan, loaded the cannon, and prepared to fire on them, if they attempted to move without his permission. He then sent a file of men on board, and took the vessel in his own possession, and sent the honorable secretary, with his quartermaster and steamboat, back to Velasco! Again, the president and cabinet appointed General Lamar to the chief command

of the army, the army promptly refused to receive him, and the power and authority of the cabinet were contemptuously disregarded. The army then doubtlessly after due deliberation, resolved that the cabinet was either corrupt or imbecile, (probably both,) and it being necessary, in their opinion, to get rid of them, determined to do so by a summary process. They therefore sent on an officer with instructions forthwith to arrest them, and bring them on to head quarters to be tried according to the military usage. This order, however, was not executed, simply because the officer charged with its execution had not the physical force requisite.

These facts and others sufficiently demonstrate to us that the cabinet was deficient in all the requisites of a good government, and that no one in his senses would trust himself, his reputation, or his fortune, to their charge or control. Charged with treason, bribery, and usurpations, weak in their councils, and still weaker in power to enforce their orders, we perceived at once that we must look for safety and proper inducements elsewhere. We then turned our eyes to the army, and a scene still more disheartening presented itself; undisciplined, and without an effort to become so; not a roll called, nor a drill; no regular encampment; no authority nor obedience; with plundering parties for self-enrolment, robbing private individuals of their property. We could see nothing to induce us to embark our fortunes and destinies with them. With these views and facts, we could but sicken and wonder at the vile deceptions which had been practised upon us; yet we are told that this people had risen up in their might to vindicate the cause of civil and religious liberty. It is a mockery of the very name of liberty. They are stimulated by that motive which such men can only appreciate—the hope of plunder. They are careless of the form of government under which they live, if that government will tolerate licentiousness and disorder. Such is a brief, but, we sincerely believe, a faithful picture of a country to which we were invited with so much assiduity, and such the manner in which we were received and treated.

We might multiply facts in support of each proposition here laid down, to show the miserable condition of things in Texas, and the utter impossibility that a man of honor could embark in such a cause with such men. Should it be rendered necessary, we may yet do so; but for the present we will pause with this remark, that if there be any, now, in Kentucky, whose hearts are animated with the desire of an honorable fame, or to secure a competent settlement for themselves or families, they must look to some other theatre than the plains of Texas. We would say to them, Listen not to the deceitful and hypocritical allurements of LAND SPECULATORS, who wish you to fight for their benefit, and who are as liberal of promises as they are faithless in performance. We are aware of the responsibility which we incur by this course. We are aware that we subject ourselves to the misrepresentations of hired agents and unprincipled landmongers; but we are willing to meet it all, relying upon the integrity of our motives and the correctness of our course. We left our native land, our peaceful fireside, with a solemn resolution to devote our undivided energies to stop the course of Mexican desolation, and build up a free and flourishing commonwealth. The very fact of our going sufficiently indicates the depth and sincerity of our devotion to the cause. Our return, and the circumstances which caused it, equally proclaim our infatuation. That others may not be alike deluded, is an additional motive with us to make this publication.

EDWARD J. WILSON,  
G. L. POSTLETHWAITE.

Lexington, Sept. 10, 1836.

## NEW-YORK SUN.

Extract from General Houston's letter to General Dunlap, of Nashville—

"For a portion of this, force we must look to the United States. It cannot reach us too soon. There is but one feeling in Texas, in my opinion, and that is to establish the independence of Texas, and to be attached to the United States."

Here, then, is an open avowal by the commander-in-chief of the Texian army, that American troops will be required to seize and sever this province of the Mexi-

can republic, for the purpose of uniting it to ours; and this avowal is made by a distinguished American citizen, in the very face of that glorious constitution of his country, which wisely gives no power to its citizens for acquiring foreign territory by conquest, their own territory being more than amply sufficient to gratify any safe ambition; and in the face, too, of the following solemn and sacred contract of his country with the sister republic which he would dismember:

"There shall be a firm, inviolable, and universal peace, and a true and sincere friendship between the United States of America, and the United Mexican States, in all the extent of their possessions and territories, between their people and citizens respectively, without distinction of persons or places."

In the earlier days of our republic, when a high-minded and honorable fidelity to its constitution was an object proudly paramount to every mercenary consideration that might contravene it, an avowed design of this kind against the possessions of a nation with whom the United States were at peace, would have subjected its author, if a citizen, to the charge of high treason, and to its consequences. When Aaron Burr and his associates were supposed to meditate the conquest of Mexico, and attempted to raise troops in the southern states to achieve it, they were arrested for treason, and Burr, their chief, was tried for his life. But now, behold! the conquest of a part of the same country is an object openly proclaimed, not in the letters of General Houston alone, but by many of our wealthiest citizens at public banquets, and by the hireling presses in the chief cities of our Union. The annexation of a foreign territory to our own by foreign conquest, being thus unblushingly avowed, and our citizens, who are integral portions of our national sovereignty, being openly invited and incited to join the crusade with weapons of war, it becomes an interesting moral inquiry—what is there in the public mind to excuse or even to palliate so flagrant a prostitution of national faith and honor in these days, any more than in the days that are past? The answer is ready at hand, and is irrefutable. An extensive and well organized gang of swindlers in Texas lands, have raised the cry, and the standard of "Liberty!" and to the thrilling charm of this glorious word, which stirs the blood of a free people, as the blast of the bugle arouses every nerve of the warhorse, have the generous feelings of our citizens responded in ardent delusion. But, as the Commercial Advertiser truly declares, "Never was the Goddess of American Liberty invoked more unrighteously;" and we cannot but believe that the natural sagacity, good sense, and proud regard for their national honor, for which our citizens are distinguished in the eyes of all nations, will speedily rescue them from the otherwise degrading error in which that vile crew of mercenary, hypocritical swindlers would involve them. The artful deceivers, however, have not relied upon the generosity and noble sympathy only of our fellow citizens, for they insidiously presented a bribe to excite their cupidity also. They have not only falsely represented the Texian cause as one of pure, disinterested liberty and justice, as opposed to perfidious tyranny and cruel oppression, but they have themselves assumed something more than the liberty which they basely and hypocritically advocate, by impudently promising a fertile paradisiacal piece of Texian land, *a mile square*, to every American citizen and foreign emigrant, who will sally forth to capture it from the Mexican republic! Induced by one or both of these objects, many hundreds of our enterprising citizens left their own ample and unobjectionable country, to unite with Irish, English, and other foreign adventurers in a war, from the fullest success of which, only some six or eight land companies, who have fraudulently and audaciously monopolized the Texian territory, would gain an important benefit. And to this shrine of Mammon, concealed by the crowding banners of ostensible liberty, have many hundreds of our gallant youth been treacherously sacrificed—sacrificed by a mercenary treachery, compared to which, that exercised by Santa Anna, in defence of the republic of which he was president, was innocence and patriotism.

Had we in the Texians, a brave and injured people, struggling in the land of their birth, or even of their adoption, for those abstract and social rights of mankind which were the objects of our revolution, and which we obtained and enjoy, theirs would be a cause with which angels might sympathize, and which the bolts of heaven might well be launched to aid. But is it such a cause?—Deceived by misrepresentations, we were ourselves led so to consider it, in its earlier efforts; but a fair examination of facts has undeceived us, and we look in vain either for such a cause or such a people in the Texians. What are the facts?

We pledge ourselves to answer the question with a perspicuity which shall defy all future obfuscation, and with a rigid adherence to truth which shall defy the most desperate efforts to relate. We have, at present, only room to state, in brief, that the Texian revolution was concerted by the planters and slave speculators in the southern states ever since the first permission given by the Spanish authorities to Moses Austin, of Missouri, in the year 1820, to introduce three hundred families, professing the Catholic religion, as colonists of a grant of land which he obtained on this express condition. From that time to the present moment, the aggressions have been on the part of the colonists, under the sanction of the southern speculators; and not until their purpose of getting a physical force into the province which should detach it from Mexico, and make it a slaveholding state, became flagrant and undisguised, has the settlers ever received aught but protection, encouragement, toleration and kindness, from the Mexican government. They paid no taxes, had their own laws and tribunals, were allowed to profess and exercise all the religions they chose, though contrary to the Mexican constitution; enjoyed all the fruits of a beautiful and bounteous soil without return or tribute to the government to which it belonged, and were, without exception, the freest civilized people upon the face of the earth. But the object of the colonizing land agents of the South was to make this prolific province their own, and the field of a new and lucrative negro slavery. To this they still tenaciously adhere; and if they can induce a strong force of our American youth to shed their blood for the unjust and avaricious cause of slavery, under the name of Texian liberty and independence, they will undoubtedly secure their object. We doubt not the ability of our gallant countrymen to exterminate any number of Mexicans that can be brought against them, but in fighting for the union of Texas with the United States, which is the avowed meaning of "Texian independence," they will be fighting for that which, at no distant period, will inevitably **DISSOLVE THE UNION**. The slave states, having this eligible addition to their land of bondage, with its harbors, bays, and well bounded geographical position, will ere long cut asunder the federal tie, which they have long held with ungracious and unfraternal fingers, and confederate a new and distinct slaveholding republic, in opposition to the whole free republic of the North. Thus early will be fulfilled the prediction of the old politicians of Europe, that our Union could not remain one century entire; and then also will the maxim be exemplified in our history, as it is in the history of the slaveholding republics of old, that liberty and slavery cannot long inhabit the same soil.—*New-York Sun*, 1836.

The South wish to have Texas admitted into the Union for two reasons. First, to equalize the South with the North, and secondly, as a convenient and safe place calculated from its peculiarly good soil and salubrious climate for a slave population. Interest and political safety both and alike prompt the action and enforce the argument. The South contends that preservation and justice to themselves call for that aid to be tendered to them which would be given by the acquisition of Texas. They are not safe as they are.—They are not balanced with the free states. Their exposure to insurrection is fourfold, with not one-fourth the means to redress their grievances. They contend that they have an internal foe within, and an awful foe in all those who demand the emancipation of their slaves, and who call upon them to give up their property now and for ever. The question is, therefore, put by the South to congress and the country. "Shall we have justice done us by the admission of Texas into the Union, whenever that admission may be asked by the Texans themselves?" The question is a fair one, and must soon be met by congress and the nation. The North almost to a man will answer no. The West will be divided, and the discussion of the question will find two strong and powerful parties; the one in favor of Texas, a slaveholding province, and the other against it.—*Mobile (Ala.) Mercantile Advertiser*.

## NEUTRALITY!

Next in turn was the change in the government effected by Santa Anna; and next the Texian revolution. Was it not laughable to see these Texans, all of them, generally speaking, slaveholders; adhering to the constitution of 1824, one article of which emancipates all the slaves in Mexico! Was it not laughable to see them proclaiming a constitution, of which, eleven years ago, the Americans in Texas had prohibited the proclamation by the Mexican authorities there, under the heaviest threats!—What man of common sense can believe in this humbug? None, gentlemen; none but those that have risked their thousands in this country; and they, whoever they may be, feign to believe it. The statements made throughout the United States, of tyranny and oppression on the part of Mexico toward the American citizens in Texas, are slanderous falsehoods, fabricated to create and nurture the worst prejudices and jealousies. The Americans in Texas have had their own way in every case, and on every occasion; and whenever there happened a legislative act that was, from any cause, repugnant to the feelings of the people of Texas, it was silenced at once. In short, if there has existed a good cause of complaint in Texas, it was that men were too much their own masters, and too little under the restraint of any law. Any allegation to the effect that the Mexican government had deceived citizens of the United States in relation to promises of lands first made to them, is false, and I defy any one to show a forfeiture of title to lands, *when the conditions of the grant had been fulfilled by the settler.*

Now, sir, as to the war: here I will ask Americans, (except the speculators,) how many military incursions, insurrections, and rebellions, avowedly for the purpose of snatching Texas from its proper owners, will, in their mind, justify Mexico in driving from its territories, the pirates that would thus pass themselves off for the country? Be it remembered, that these revolutions have never been attempted by the resident citizens of Texas, but in every case by men organized in the United States for the purpose, and coming from afar: why, a single provocation of this nature were ample justification; but Texas has, from the time of the adjustment of the boundary by Wilkinson and Ferrara, experienced seven or eight. Now what is Mexico to do? Can it be expected that she will maintain a large army in Texas merely for the purpose of guarding against the attempts of a few? Certainly not. Were the population of the United States one of savages, from one of which we should not expect good policy, and that international equity which has heretofore been the boast of Americans, it might perhaps be expected; but Mexico has rested under the belief that when a few marauders should interfere with her possessions, the American people would not object to see them properly chastised. But, gentlemen, what at present seems to be the situation of affairs? Not only has Houston avowed that his acts were prompted by the highest authority within the United States, but a general officer of the army of the United States presents himself, with forces, upon the Mexican frontier. His first orders are to preserve perfect neutrality; and his particular attention is called to one of the articles of the treaty between the United States and Mexico, by which the contracting parties bind themselves to restrain their respective Indians within their own limits. General Gaines having arrived, is at once in correspondence with the Texian officers, and despatches to Washington "information derived from the highest authority in Texas"—this, too, against the most positive information given to General Gaines, by respectable and intelligent people, that misrepresentations of all kinds were fabricating, and would be invented to induce him to cross. Upon the information thus given at Washington by General Gaines, Mr. Secretary Cass writes that he has laid before the executive his letter, and that his construction, in the uncertainty of the boundary between the United States and Mexico being acquiesced in, he, General Gaines, is authorized to cross the Sabine river, and proceed as far as Nacogdoches, seventy-five miles within the Mexican territory. This permission is given, however, only under certain contingencies; (and I am certain that these have not been present.) Here I must be permitted to ask, (and I address myself to every American who loves his country, and is proud of it,) how it can be maintained, under any pretext, that honor would suggest, or justify, that the frontier between the United States and Mexico is *uncertain*? For a long time after the acquisition of Louisiana, the United States

exercised jurisdiction only to the Rio Hondo, but six miles west of Natchitoches, the intermediate territory between this point and the Sabine river, about twenty miles, being considered neutral territory. At last General Wilkinson, for the United States, and General Ferran, for Mexico, arranged the Sabine as the frontier; a survey made by Mr. Melish also establishes the Sabine, at this point, as the frontier. A subsequent regular and formal treaty between the two governments confirms this frontier, and has especial and particular reference to Melish's map and survey; and more recently still, the present executive declares by proclamation, that the two governments shall continue to exercise jurisdiction within the territory now occupied by either. This was the result of a conference with the Mexican minister, who justly represented that Arkansas had overleaped the boundary between the two governments, and was in the exercise of jurisdiction within a part of the Mexican dominions.

There is certainly a part of the boundary not yet traced; but it is a line passing over land only, and running from the thirty-second degree of latitude on the Sabine, due north to Red River. Thus it will be perceived, that all the Sabine, from the sea to the thirty-second degree, is the boundary; and that the Sabine above the thirty-second degree, belongs exclusively to Mexico;—hence the impossibility of there being uncertainty about it. I will ask again, if there is doubt as to the Sabine frontier, how it happens that when the Texans were petitioning congress for a recognition of their independence, no information was imparted to the national legislature of the circumstances.—Again, if there is a doubt as to the Sabine frontier, how happens it that war in that territory, by regularly organized armies of citizens of the United States, is tolerated against a friendly power? No, sir; there is no doubt or uncertainty as to the Sabine frontier. Mr. Secretary Cass cannot be *au fait*, or he is willing to lend himself for a most unworthy purpose.

General Gaines having, however, persuaded the executive and secretary that the line was "imaginary," and that he "might cross it," orders troops from forts Towson and Gibson, to occupy Nacogdoches, as I have said before, seventy-five miles beyond the limits of Mexico; and what is worse, directs those troops to cross the Red River above, and march through the country to the place of destination; so that the troops came into the Mexican dominions at least two hundred miles beyond Nacogdoches, and, having arrived there, are ordered to fortify and erect other buildings. How is this, gentlemen? Call you all this neutrality?

But, for a farther description of our affairs here, I will add the following facts. The Americans (I mean the regulars) and Texans, appear to understand each other perfectly. The neutrality is preserved on the part of General Gaines, by allowing all volunteers, and other organized corps destined for Texas, to pass in hundreds and thousands undisturbed, but keeps in check any attempt on the part of the native Mexicans and Indians, to act against the Texans. The Texans are allowed to wage war against a friendly power, in a district of country claimed by the United States. The prisoners of war taken by the Texans are ignorant to which party they are subject. The American general claims the country only from Mexico, but has no objections to the carrying on of war against Mexico in the district he claims! Pray, sir, let Americans speak honestly, and let them say whether any government has, within the last century, placed itself in so ridiculous a light?—not only ridiculous, but contemptible. Will not any honest man confess at once that General Gaines, or any authority clothing him with the discretion so indirectly used, would never have dreamed of the like against a government able and ready to defend itself, and punish such arrogance? What is Europe to say to this? Will not Mexico complain? And will there be no sympathy for her?—*Letter to the Editors of the New-York Commercial Advertiser, dated Nacogdoches, Texas, September 24, 1836.*

[Alas, for our national degeneracy and infamy:—In 1811, the suspicion of being accessory to this horrible outrage against the laws of nature, and of nations, led a distinct charge in the trial for treason of]

## GENERAL WILKINSON.

**CHARGE V.**—That he, the said James Wilkinson, while commanding the army of the United States, by virtue of his said commission, and being bound by the duties of his office to do all that in him lay, to discover and to frustrate all such enormous violations of the law as tended to endanger the peace and tranquillity of the United States, did, nevertheless, unlawfully combine and conspire to set on foot a military expedition against the territories of a nation, then at peace with the United States.

*Specification*, He, the said James Wilkinson, in the years 1805 and 1806, combining and conspiring with Aaron Burr and his associates, to set on foot a military expedition against the Spanish provinces and territories in America.—*Wilkinson's Memoirs, Vol. 2.*

[The Charleston Mercury, March, 1837, gives the following in the report of a speech of the Hon. John C. Calhoun, at a public dinner given him in Charleston on his return from congress.]

"He spoke of Texas, and at that name was interrupted with long and loud cheering, and his concluding words on that topic, pronounced with deep emotion, that 'Texas must be annexed to the Union,' were answered with a universal burst of applause, that showed how glowing was the sympathy of the people of South Carolina with the heroes of San Jacinto. He pointed out clearly the importance to the South, of the annexation," &c.

## RELIGIOUS AND MORAL TESTIMONY.

### *Presbyterian Synod of New York and Philadelphia, 1787.*

The Synod, taking into consideration the overture concerning slavery, came to the following judgment:

The Synod of New York and Philadelphia do highly approve of the general principles in favor of universal liberty that prevail in America, and the interest which many of the states have taken in promoting the abolition of slavery. They earnestly recommend it to all the members belonging to their communion, to give those persons who are at present held in servitude, such good education as to prepare them for the better enjoyment of freedom. And they moreover recommend that masters, wherever they find servants disposed to make a just improvement of the privilege, would give them a peculium, or grant them sufficient time, and sufficient means of procuring their own liberty at a moderate rate; that thereby they may be brought into society with those habits of industry that may render them useful citizens. And finally, they recommend it to all their people to use the most prudent measures, consistent with the interests and the state of civil society in the countries where they live, to procure eventually the final abolition of slavery in America.

[This "judgment" was also republished as the decision of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in 1793.]

The second annunciation of the sentiments of the Presbyterian Church upon the subject of slavery, was made in the year 1794, when the "scripture proofs," notes, &c., were adopted by the General As-

assembly. Their doctrine at that period is stated in the *note b, appended to the one hundred and forty-second question of the larger Catechism, in these words :*

“1 Tim. i, 10. The law is made for man stealers. This crime among the Jews exposed the perpetrators of it to capital punishment; Exodus xxi, 16; and the apostle here classes them with sinners of the first rank. The word he uses, in its original import, comprehends all who are concerned in bringing any of the human race into slavery, or in retaining them in it. *Homines fures, qui servos vel liberos abducunt, retinent, vendunt, vel emunt.* Stealers of men are all those who bring off slaves or freemen, and keep, sell, or buy them. To steal a freeman, says Grotius, is the highest kind of theft. In other instances, we only steal human property, but when we steal or retain men in slavery, we seize those who, in common with ourselves, are constituted by the original grant, lords of the earth. Genesis i, 28. Vide Poli synopsis in loc.”

*Advice given by the Assembly, in relation to Slavery, in 1815.*

“The committee to which was committed the report of the committee to which the petition of some elders, who entertain conscientious scruples on the subject of holding slaves, together with that of the Synod of Ohio, concerning the buying and selling of slaves, had been referred, reported; and their report being read and amended, was adopted, and is as follows:—

“The General Assembly have repeatedly declared their cordial approbation of those principles of civil liberty which appear to be recognised by the Federal and State governments, in these United States. They have expressed their regret that the slavery of the Africans and of their descendants still continues in so many places, and even among those within the pale of the Church; and have urged the Presbyteries under their care, to adopt such measures as will secure at least to the rising generation of slaves, within the bounds of the Church, a religious education; that they may be prepared for the exercise and enjoyment of liberty, when God, in his providence, may open a door for their emancipation. The committee refer said petitioners to the printed extracts of the Synod of New York and Philadelphia, for the year 1787, on this subject, republished by the Assembly in 1793; and also to the extracts of the minutes of the Assembly for 1795; which last are in the following words:—

“A serious and conscientious person, a member of a Presbyterian congregation, who views the slavery of the negroes as a moral evil, highly offensive to God, and injurious to the interests of the gospel, lives under the ministry of a person, or among a society of people, who concur with him in sentiment on the subject upon general principles; yet, for particular reasons, hold slaves, and tolerate the practice in others,—Ought the former of these persons, under the impressions and circumstances above described, to hold Christian communion with the latter?”



"Whereupon, after due deliberation, it was *Resolved*; that as the same difference of opinion with respect to slavery takes place in sundry other parts of the Presbyterian Church, notwithstanding which, they live in charity and peace, according to the doctrine and practice of the apostles; it is hereby recommended to all conscientious persons, and especially to those whom it immediately respects, to do the same. At the same time, the General Assembly assure all the Churches under their care, that they view with the deepest concern any vestiges of slavery which may exist in our country, and refer the Churches to the records of the General Assembly, published at different times; but especially to an overture of the late Synod of New York and Philadelphia, published in 1787, and republished among the extracts from the minutes of the General Assembly of 1793, on that head, with which they trust every conscientious person will be fully satisfied.

"This is deemed a sufficient answer to the first petition; and with regard to the second, the Assembly observe, that although in some sections of our country, under certain circumstances, the transfer of slaves may be unavoidable, yet they consider the buying and selling of slaves by way of traffic, and all undue severity in the management of them, as inconsistent with the spirit of the gospel. And they recommend it to the Presbyteries and Sessions under their care, to make use of all prudent measures to prevent such shameful and unrighteous conduct."—*Digest, page 339.*

*"A full expression of the Assembly's views of slavery in 1818.*

"The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, having taken into consideration the subject of slavery, think proper to make known their sentiments upon it.

"We consider the voluntary enslaving of one part of the human race by another, as a gross violation of the most precious and sacred rights of human nature; as utterly inconsistent with the law of God which requires us to love our neighbor as ourselves; and, as totally irreconcilable with the spirit and principles of the gospel of Christ, which enjoin that 'all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them.' Slavery creates a paradox in the moral system—it exhibits rational, accountable, and immortal beings in such circumstances as scarcely to leave them the power of moral action. It exhibits them as dependant on the will of others, whether they shall receive religious instruction; whether they shall know and worship the true God; whether they shall enjoy the ordinances of the gospel; whether they shall perform the duties and cherish the endearments of husbands and wives, parents and children, neighbors and friends; whether they shall preserve their chastity and purity, or regard the dictates of justice and humanity. Such are some of the consequences of slavery; *consequences not imaginary*, but which connect themselves with its very existence. The evils to which the slave is *always* exposed, often take place in their *very worst degree and form*; and where all of them do not take place, still the slave is

deprived of his natural rights, degraded as a human being, and exposed to the danger of passing into the hands of a master who may inflict upon him all the hardships and injuries which inhumanity and avarice may suggest.

"From this view of the consequences resulting from the practice into which Christian people have most inconsistently fallen, of enslaving a portion of their brethren of mankind, it is manifestly the duty of all Christians, when the inconsistency of slavery with the dictates of humanity and religion has been demonstrated, and is generally seen and acknowledged, to use their honest, earnest, and unwearied endeavors, as speedily as possible to efface this blot on our holy religion, and to obtain the complete abolition of slavery throughout the world. We earnestly exhort them," the slaveholders, "to continue and to increase their exertions to effect a total abolition of slavery.—We exhort them to suffer no greater delay to take place in this most interesting concern than a regard to the public welfare truly and indispensably demands.

"As our country has inflicted a most grievous injury on the unhappy Africans by bringing them into slavery, our country ought to be governed in this matter by no other consideration than an *honest and impartial regard to the happiness of the injured party*, uninfluenced by the expense or inconvenience which such a regard may involve. We, therefore, warn all who belong to our denomination of Christians, against unduly extending this plea of necessity; against making it a cover for the love and practice of slavery, or a pretence for not using efforts that are lawful and practicable to extinguish the evil.

"Having thus expressed our views of slavery, and of the duty indispensably incumbent on all Christians to labor for its complete extinction, we proceed to recommend, with all the earnestness and solemnity which this momentous subject demands, a particular attention to the following points.

"We recommend to all the members of our religious denomination, to facilitate and encourage the instruction of their slaves in the principles and duties of the Christian religion, by granting them liberty to attend on the preaching of the gospel; by favoring the instruction of them in Sabbath schools, and by giving them all other proper advantages for acquiring the knowledge of their duty both to God and man. It is incumbent on all Christians to communicate religious instruction to those who are under their authority, and the doing of this in the case before us, so far from operating, as some have apprehended that it might, as an excitement to insubordination and insurrection, would operate as the most powerful means for the prevention of those evils."

The Assembly here subjoin a note, which proves that the quietude of the island of Antigua, when the slaves of the neighboring West Indian islands had been in commotion, was owing to the religious instruction of the Moravian Missionaries. To which may since be added, the examples of Demarara and Jamaica. This document of the Assembly is thus closed: "We enjoin it on all Church Sessions and Presbyteries to discountenance, and as far as possible to prevent

all cruelty, of whatever kind, in the treatment of slaves; especially the cruelty of separating husband and wife, parents and children; and that which consists in selling slaves to those who will either themselves deprive those unhappy people of the blessings of the gospel, or who will transport them to places where the gospel is not proclaimed, or where it is forbidden to slaves to attend upon its institutions. The manifest violation or disregard of this injunction, ought to be considered as just ground for the discipline and censures of the Church. And if it shall ever happen that a Christian professor in our communion shall sell a slave who is also in communion with our Church, contrary to his or her will and inclination, it ought immediately to claim the particular attention of the proper Church judicature; and unless there be such peculiar circumstances attending the case as can but seldom happen, it ought to be followed without delay, by a suspension of the offender from all the privileges of the Church, till he repent and make all the reparation in his power, to the injured party.”  
—*Digest of the General Assembly page 341.*

## METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

There is only one condition previously required of those who desire admission into these societies, a desire to flee from the wrath to come, and to be saved from their sins. But wherever this is really fixed in the soul, it will be shown by its fruits. It is therefore expected of all who continue therein, that they should continue to evidence their desire of salvation, by doing no harm, by avoiding evil of every kind, especially that which is most generally practised, such as—“*the buying and selling of men, women, or children, with an intention to enslave them.*”

**OF SLAVERY.**—*Question.*—What shall be done for the extirpation of the evil of slavery?

*Answer 1.*—We declare that we are as much as ever convinced of the great evil of slavery; therefore, no slaveholder shall be eligible to any official station in our Church hereafter; where the laws of the state in which he lives will admit of emancipation, and permit the liberated slave to enjoy freedom.

*Answer 2.*—When any travelling preacher becomes an owner of a slave or slaves, by any means, he shall forfeit his ministerial character in our Church, unless he execute, if it be practicable, a legal emancipation of such slaves, conformably to the laws of the state in which he lived.—*Doctrine and Discipline.*

## SAMUEL HOPKINS, D. D.

The master is not a proper judge in this case; you are not a proper judge of your treatment of your slaves; and though you may think you treat them very well, in some instances at least, if not in a constant

way, they justly think themselves used very hardly, being really subjected to many hardships, which you would very sensibly feel and resent, if you were in their place; or should see one of your children a slave in Algiers, treated so by his master. There are but few masters of slaves, I believe, who do not use them in a hard, unreasonable manner, in some instances at least; and most do so in a constant way; so that an impartial, attentive bystander will be shocked with it, while the master is wholly insensible of any wrong. They who from us have visited the West Indies, have beheld how servants are used by their masters there, with a degree of horror, and pronounced them very unreasonable and barbarous; while the master, and perhaps his other domestics, have thought they were used well, being accustomed to such usage, and never once reflecting that these blacks were in any sense on a level with themselves, or that they have the least right to the treatment white people may reasonably expect of one another; and being habituated to view these slaves more beneath themselves, than the very beasts really are. And are we not, most of us, educated in these prejudices, and led to view the slaves among us in such a mean, despicable light, as not to be sensible of the abuses they suffer; when, if we or our children should receive such treatment from any of our fellow men, it would appear terrible in our sight? The Turks are by education and custom, taught to view the Christian slaves among them so much beneath themselves, and in such an odious light, that while they are treating our brethren and children, (we being judges) in the most unreasonable and cruel manner, they have not one thought that they injure them in the least degree.

Are you sure your slaves have a sufficiency of good food, in season; and that they never want for comfortable clothing and bedding? Do you take great care to deal as well by them in these things, as you would wish others would treat your own children, were they slaves in a strange land? If your servants complain, are you ready to attend to them? Or do you in such cases frown upon them, or do something worse, so as to discourage their ever applying to you, whatever they may suffer, having learned that this would only be making bad worse? Do you never fly into a passion, and deal with them in great anger, deciding matters respecting them, and threatening them, and giving sentence concerning them, from which they have no appeal, and perhaps proceed to correct them, when to a calm bystander you appear more fit to be confined in a bedlam, than to have the sovereign, uncontrollable dominion over your brethren, as the sole lawgiver, judge, and executioner? Do not even your children domineer over your slaves? Must they not often be at the beck of an ungoverned, peevish child in the family; and if they do not run at his or her call, and are not all submission and obedience, must they not expect the frowns of their masters, if not the whip?

If none of these things, my good sir, take place in your family, have we not reason to think you almost a singular instance? How common are things of this kind, or worse, taking place between mas-

tors and their slaves? In how few instances, if in any, are slaves treated, as the masters would wish to have their own children treated, in like circumstances? How few are fit to be masters? To have the sovereign dominion over a number of their fellow men, being his property, and wholly at his disposal; who must abide his sentence and orders, however unreasonable, without any possibility of relief?

This leads me to observe, that our distresses are come upon us in such a way, and the occasion of the present war is such, as in the most clear and striking manner to point out the sin of holding our blacks in slavery, and admonish us to reform, and render us shockingly inconsistent with ourselves, and amazingly guilty if we refuse. God has raised up men to attempt to deprive us of liberty; and the evil we are threatened with is slavery.—This, with our vigorous attempts to avoid it, is the ground of all our distresses, and the general voice is, “We will die in the attempt, rather than submit to slavery.” But are we at the same time making slaves of many thousands of our brethren, who have as good a right to liberty as ourselves, and to whom it is as sweet as it is to us, and the contrary as dreadful! Are we holding them in the most abject, miserable state of slavery, without the least compassionate feeling towards them or their posterity; utterly refusing to take off the oppressive galling yoke! Oh, the shocking, the intolerable inconsistency! And this gross, barefaced inconsistency is an open, practical condemnation of holding these our brethren in slavery; and in these circumstances the crime of persisting in it becomes unspeakably greater and more provoking in God’s sight; so that all the former unrighteousness and cruelty exercised in this practice, is innocence, compared with the awful guilt that is now contracted. And in allusion to the words of our Saviour, it may with great truth and propriety be said, “If he had not thus come in his Providence, and spoken unto us, (comparatively speaking,) we had not had sin, in making bond-slaves of our brethren; but now, we have no cloak for our sin.”

And if we continue in this evil practice, and refuse to let the oppressed go free, under all this light and admonition, suited to convince and reform us; and while God is evidently correcting us for it, as well as for other sins, have we any reason to expect deliverance from the calamities we are under? May we not rather look for slavery and destruction, like that which came upon the obstinate, unreformed Jews? In this light, I think, it ought to be considered by us; and viewed thus, it affords a most forcible, formidable argument, not to put off liberating our slaves to a more convenient time; but to arise, all as one man, and do it with all our might, without delay, since delaying in this case is awfully dangerous, as well as unspeakably criminal.—*Dialogue on African Slavery, 1776, republished 1785, by the N. Y. Manumission Society, whose president was John Jay.*

## JONATHAN EDWARDS.

I propose to mention a few reasons against the right of the slave-trade—and then to consider the principal arguments which I have ever heard urged in favor of it. What will be said against the slave-trade will generally be equally applicable to slavery itself; and if conclusive against the former, will be equally conclusive against the latter.

As to the slave-trade, I conceive it to be unjust in itself, abominable on account of the cruel manner in which it is conducted, and totally wrong on account of the impolicy of it, or its destructive tendency to the moral and political interests of any country.

It is unjust in itself. It is unjust in the same sense and for the same reason as it is to steal, to rob, or to murder. It is a principle, the truth of which hath in this country been generally, if not universally acknowledged, ever since the commencement of the late war, *that all men are born equally free*. If this be true, the Africans are by nature equally entitled to freedom as we are: and therefore, we have no more right to enslave, or to afford aid to enslave them, than they have to do the same to us. They have the same right to their freedom, which they have to their property or to their lives. Therefore to enslave them, is as really, and in the same sense wrong, as to steal from them, to rob, or to murder them.

There are, indeed, cases in which men may justly be deprived of their liberty, and reduced to slavery; as there are cases in which they may be justly deprived of their lives. But they can justly be deprived of neither, unless they have, by their own voluntary conduct, forfeited it. Therefore, still, the right to liberty *stands* on the same basis with the right to life. And that the Africans have done something whereby they have forfeited their liberty, must appear, before we can justly deprive them of it; as it must appear that they have done something whereby they have forfeited their lives, before we may justly deprive them of these.

This trade, and this slavery, are utterly wrong on the ground of their impolicy. In a variety of respects they are exceedingly hurtful to the states which tolerate them.

They are hurtful, as they deprave the morals of the people. The incessant and inhuman cruelties practised in the trade and in the subsequent slavery, necessarily tend to harden the human heart against the tender feelings of humanity, in the masters of vessels, in the sailors, in the factors, in the proprietors of slaves, in their children, in the overseers, in the slaves themselves, and in all who habitually see those cruelties. Now the eradication, or even the diminution of compassion, tenderness, and humanity, is certainly a great depravity of heart, and must be followed with correspondent depravity of manners. And measures which lead to such depravity of heart and manners, cannot but be extremely hurtful to the state, and consequently are extremely impolitic.

African slavery is exceedingly impolitic, as it discourages industry. Nothing is more essential to the political prosperity of any state, than industry in the citizens. But in proportion as slaves are multiplied, every kind of labor becomes ignominious; and in fact, in those of the United States, in which slaves are the most numerous, gentlemen and ladies of any fashion disdain to employ themselves in business, which in other states is consistent with the dignity of the first families and first offices. In a country filled with negro slaves, labor belongs to them only, and a white man is despised in proportion as he applies to it. Now how destructive to industry in all of the lowest and middle classes of citizens, such a situation, and the prevalence of such ideas will be, you can easily conceive. The consequence is, that some will nearly starve, others will betake themselves to the most dishonest practices, to obtain the means of living.

As slavery produces indolence in the white people, so it produces all those vices which are naturally connected with it; such as intemperance, lewdness, and prodigality. These vices enfeeble both the body and the mind, and unfit men for any vigorous exertions and employments, either external or mental; and those who are unfit for such exertions, are already a very degenerate race; degenerate, not only in a moral, but a natural sense. They are contemptible too, and will soon be despised even by their negroes themselves.

Slavery has a most direct tendency to haughtiness also, and a domineering spirit and conduct in the proprietors of the slaves, in their children, and in all who have the control of them. A man who has been bred up in domineering over negroes, can scarcely avoid contracting such a habit of haughtiness and domination, as will express itself in his general treatment of mankind, whether in his private capacity, or in any office, civil or military, with which he may be vested. Despotism in economics naturally leads to despotism in politics, and domestic slavery in a free government is a perfect solecism in human affairs.

How baneful all these tendencies and effects of slavery must be to the public good, and especially to the public good of such a free country as ours, I need not inform you.

In the same proportion as industry and labor are discouraged, is population discouraged and prevented. This is another respect in which slavery is exceedingly impolitic. That population is prevented in proportion as industry is discouraged, is, I conceive, so plain that nothing needs to be said to illustrate it. Mankind in general will enter into matrimony as soon as they possess the means of supporting a family. But the great body of any people have no other way of supporting themselves or a family, than by their own labor. Of course, as labor is discouraged, matrimony is discouraged and population is prevented. But the impolicy of whatever produces these effects will be acknowledged by all. The wealth, strength, and glory of a state depend on the number of its virtuous citizens; and a state without citizens is at least as great an absurdity as a king without subjects.

Having thus considered the injustice and ruinous tendency of the slave-trade, I proceed to attend to the principal arguments urged in favor of it.

The right of slavery is inferred from the instance of Abraham, who had servants born in his house and bought with his money. But it is by no means certain that these were slaves, as our negroes are. If they were, it is unaccountable that he went out at the head of an army of them to fight his enemies. No West India planter would easily be induced to venture himself in such a situation. It is far more probable, that, similar to some of the vassals under the feudal constitution, the servants of Abraham were only in a good measure dependant on him, and protected by him. But if they were to all intents and purposes slaves, Abraham's holding of them will no more prove the right of slavery, than his going in to Hagar, will prove it right for any man to indulge in criminal intercourse with his domestic.

From the divine permission given to the Israelites to buy servants of the nations round about them, it is argued, that we have a right to buy the Africans and hold them in slavery. See Lev. xxv, 44—47. But if this be at all to the purpose, it is a permission to every nation under heaven to buy slaves of the nations round about them; to us; to buy of our Indian neighbors; to them, to buy of us; to the French; to buy of the English, and to the English, to buy of the French; and so through the world. If then this argument be valid, every man has an entire right to engage in this trade, and to buy and sell any other man of another nation, and any other man of another nation has an entire right to buy and sell him. Thus, according to this construction, we have in Lev. xxv, 43, &c., an institution of an universal slave-trade, by which every man may not only become a merchant, but may rightfully become the merchandise itself of this trade, and may be bought and sold like a beast. Now this consequence will be given up as absurd, and therefore, also, the construction of Scripture from which it follows must be given up. Yet it is presumed, that there is no avoiding that construction or the absurdity flowing from it, but by admitting that this permission to the Israelites to buy slaves has no respect to us, but was in the same manner peculiar to them, as the permission and command to subdue, destroy, and extirpate the whole Canaanitish nation; and, therefore, no more gives countenance to African slavery, than the command to extirpate the Canaanites gives countenance to the extirpation of any nation in these days, by an universal slaughter of men and women, young men and maidens, infants and sucklings.

It is further pleaded, that there were slaves in the times of the apostles; that they did not forbid the holding of those slaves, but gave directions to servants, doubtless referring to the servants of that day, to obey *their masters and count them worthy of all honor*.

To this the answer is, that the apostles teach the general duties of servants who are righteously in the state of servitude, as many are or may be, by hire, by indenture, and by judgment of a civil court. But they do not say whether the servants in general of that day were



justly holden in slavery or not. In like manner they lay down the general rules of obedience to civil magistrates, without deciding concerning the characters of the magistrates of the Roman empire in the reign of Nero. And as the Apostle Paul requires masters to give their servants that which is just and equal, (Col. iv, 1,) so if any were enslaved unjustly, of course he in this text requires of the masters of such to give them their freedom. Thus the apostles treat the slavery of that day in the same manner that they treat the civil government; and say nothing more in favor of the former, than they say in favor of the latter.

As to the pretence, that to prohibit or lay aside this trade, would be hurtful to our commerce, it is sufficient to ask, whether, on the supposition that it were advantageous to the commerce of Great Britain, to send her ships to these states, and transport us into perpetual slavery in the West Indies, it would be right that she should go into that trade.

It is said, that some men are intended by nature to be slaves. If this means, that the author of nature has given some men a license to enslave others, this is denied, and proof is demanded. If it means that God has made some of capacities inferior to others, and that the last have a right to enslave the first; this argument will prove, that some of the citizens of every country have a right to enslave other citizens of the same country; nay, that some have a right to enslave their own brothers and sisters. But if this argument means, that God in his providence suffers some men to be enslaved, and that this proves, that from the beginning he intended they should be enslaved, and made them with this intention; the answer is, that in like manner he suffers some men to be murdered, and in this sense he intended and made them to be murdered. Yet no man in his senses will hence argue the lawfulness of murder.

We all dread political slavery, or subjection to the arbitrary power of a king, or of any man or men not deriving their authority from the people. Yet such a state is inconceivably preferable to the slavery of the negroes. Suppose that in the late war we had been subdued by Great Britain, we should have been taxed without our consent. But these taxes would have amounted to but a small part of our property. Whereas the negroes are deprived of all their property; no part of their earnings is their own; the whole is their masters. In a conquered state we should have been at liberty to dispose of ourselves and of our property, in most cases, as we should choose. We should have been free to live in this or that town or place; in any part of the country, or to remove out of the country; to apply to this or that business; to labor or not; and excepting a sufficiency for taxes, to dispose of the fruit of our labor to our own benefit, or that of our children, or of any other person. But the unhappy negroes in slavery can do none of these things. They must do what they are commanded, and as much as they are commanded, on pain of the lash. They must live wherever they are placed, and must confine themselves to that spot on pain of death.

So that Great Britain, in her late attempt to enslave America, committed a very small crime, indeed, in comparison with the crime of those who enslave the Africans.

The arguments which have been urged against the slave-trade, are with little variation: applicable to the holding of slaves. He who holds a slave, continues to deprive him of that liberty, which was taken from him on the coast of Africa. And if it were wrong to deprive him of it in the first instance, why not in the second? If this be true, no man has a better right to retain his negro in slavery, than he had to take him from his native African shores. And every man who cannot show, that his negro hath by his voluntary conduct forfeited his liberty, is obligated immediately to manumit him. Undoubtedly we should think so, were we holden in the same slavery in which the negroes are. And our text requires us to do to others as we would that they should do to us.

To hold a slave, who has a right to his liberty, is not only a real crime, but a very great one. Does this conclusion seem strange to any of you? You will not deny that liberty is more valuable than property; and that it is a greater sin to deprive a man of his whole liberty during life, than to deprive him of his whole property; or, that *man stealing* is a greater crime than *robbery*. Nor will you deny that to hold in slavery a man who was *stolen*, is substantially the same crime as to *steal him*. These principles being undeniable, I leave it to yourselves to draw the plain and necessary consequence. And if your consciences shall, in spite of all opposition, tell you, that while you hold your negroes in slavery, you do wrong, exceedingly wrong; that you do not, as you would that men should do to you; that you commit sin in the sight of God; that you daily violate the plain rights of mankind, and that in a higher degree than if you committed theft or robbery, let me beseech you not to stifle this conviction, but attend to it, and act accordingly, lest you add to your former guilt that of sinning against the light of truth, and of your own consciences.

To convince yourselves, that your information being the same, to hold a negro slave is a greater sin than fornication, theft, or robbery, you need only bring the matter home to yourselves. I am willing to appeal to your own consciences, whether you would not judge it to be a greater sin for a man to hold you or your children during life in such slavery, as that of the negroes, than for him to indulge in one instance of licentious conduct, or in one instance to steal or rob. Let conscience speak, and I will submit to its decision.—*The Injustice and Impolicy of the slave-trade and of the slavery of the Africans*—a Sermon in New Haven, Sept. 15, 1791.

## ELIAS HICKS.

We, in an enlightened age, have greatly surpassed, in brutality and injustice, the most ignorant and barbarous ages; and while we are pretending to the finest feelings of humanity, are exercising unprecedented cruelty. We have planted slavery in the dark soil of sordid avarice; and the product has been misery in the extreme.

The slave-dealer, the slaveholder, and the slave-driver are virtually the agents of the consumer. Whatever we do by another, we do ourselves.

## JESSE TORREY, JR.

To enumerate all the horrid and aggravating instances of man-stealing, which are known to have occurred in the state of Delaware, within the recollection of many of the citizens of that state, would require a volume. In many cases, whole families of free colored people have been attacked in the night, beaten *nearly* to death with clubs, gagged and bound, and dragged into distant and hopeless captivity; leaving no traces behind, except the blood from their wounds.

During the last winter, the house of a free black family was broken open, and its defenceless inhabitants treated in the manner just mentioned, except that the mother escaped from their merciless grasp, while on their way to the state of Maryland. The plunderers, of whom there were nearly half a dozen, conveyed their prey upon horses; and the woman being placed on one of the horses, behind, improved an opportunity, as they were passing a house, and sprang off. Not daring to pursue her, they proceeded on, leaving her youngest child a little farther along, by the side of the road, in expectation, it is supposed, that its cries would attract the mother; but she prudently waited until morning, and recovered it again in safety.

I consider myself more fully warranted in particularizing this fact, from the circumstances of having been at Newcastle, at the time that the woman was brought with her child, before the grand jury, for examination; and of having seen several of the persons against whom bills of indictment were found, on the charge of being engaged in the perpetration of the outrage; and also that one or two of them were the same who were accused of assisting in seizing and carrying off another woman and child whom I discovered at Washington. A monster in human shape was detected in the city of Philadelphia, pursuing the occupation of courting and marrying mulatto women, and selling them as slaves. In his last attempt of this kind, the fact having come to the knowledge of the African population of this city, a mob was immediately collected, and he was only saved from being torn in atoms, by being deposited in the city prison. They have lately invented a method of attaining their object, through the instru-

mentality of the laws:—Having selected a suitable free colored person to make a *pitch* upon, the kidnapper employs a confederate, to ascertain the distinguishing marks of his body; he then claims and obtains him as a slave, before a magistrate, by describing those marks, and proving the truth of his assertions by his well-instructed accomplice.

From the best information that I have had opportunities to collect, in travelling by various routes through the states of Delaware and Maryland, I am fully convinced that there are, at this time, within the jurisdiction of the United States, several thousands of legally free people of color, toiling under the yoke of involuntary servitude, and transmitting the same fate to their posterity! If the probability of this fact could be authenticated to the recognition of the congress of the United States, it is presumed that its members, as agents of the constitution, and guardians of the public liberty, would, without hesitation, devise means for the restoration of those unhappy victims of violence and avarice, to their freedom and constitutional personal rights. The work, both from its nature and magnitude, is impracticable to individuals, or benevolent societies; besides, it is perfectly a national business, and claims national interference, equally with the captivity of our sailors in Algiers.—*Domestic Slavery and Kidnapping.*

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### JOHN KENRICK.

“*The Horrors of Slavery.*”—To invite attention to this melancholy subject, and to excite sympathy for the suffering, is the object of this publication. The compiler firmly believes that his countrymen stand exposed to the righteous rebukes of Providence for this glaring inconsistency and inhumanity; that whether they shall be tried at the bar of *reason*, the bar of *conscience*, or the bar of *God*, they may justly be condemned out of their own mouths; and that all their *arguments*, and all their *fightings* for liberty, may be produced as evidence, that as a people, they do unto others as they would *not* that others should do unto them. The suffering and degraded sons of Africa are groaning under bondage in a land of boasted freedom,—nay, groaning under oppression from the hands of men who would probably involve a whole nation in war and bloodshed—or even *set the world on fire*, rather than submit to a *fiftieth* part of the violation of natural rights which they inflict on the African race.

Whenever the government of the United States shall come to the righteous and consistent determination, that *all the inhabitants shall be free*, it is believed that no insurmountable obstacles will be found in the way of its accomplishment. Whether it would be just, and equal, and eligible, to take money from the public treasury to redeem African slaves, may possibly become a question for the consideration of congress. It may not, however, be amiss for the people to inquire whether it would be more just and equitable to continue to withhold

from more than a million (now two millions) of our fellow beings those essential blessings, without which we ourselves should consider life insupportable.

If it should be pleaded, that the powers of the general government are too limited to ensure the personal, civil, and religious liberties of all; can a doubt be entertained of the readiness of the people, when they fairly understand the subject, to enlarge those powers to any extent necessary for the attainment of an object of such transcendent importance? To say "they would not," would be to utter a most shameful libel against a majority of the freemen of the United States.

—*The Horrors of Slavery.*

## THE SLAVE-TRADE.

The 128th number of the Edinburgh Review contains an article on this subject, of more than ordinary interest. In 1831, a convention was concluded between the governments of England and France for the more effectual suppression of the slave-trade; in furtherance of which object, the two contracting parties agreed to the mutual right of search, within certain geographical limits. They moreover covenanted to use their best endeavors, and mutually to aid each other, *to induce all the maritime powers to agree to the terms of their convention.* The fact that such overtures had been made to some nations has occasionally been hinted at, but the results we have now for the first time learned.

Prior to the convention with France, Great Britain had formed treaties to nearly the same effect with Brazil, the Netherlands, Sweden, Portugal, and Spain. All, therefore, that remained in regard to those nations, was to induce them to agree with France to all the articles of the convention, and with Great Britain to such of them as were not already incorporated in her treaties with them respectively. *To all the other powers of Europe, says the Review, and to the United States, France and England conjointly have made the strongest representations on the subject, and urged them by every consideration of justice, humanity, and policy, to make a combined and simultaneous effort for at once annihilating what they themselves had, twenty years before, denounced as the curse of Africa and the disgrace of Europe.* Orders were also sent to the British minister at Buenos Ayres, to induce the government there, as well as that of Monte Video, to enter into an effective treaty for the abolition of the trade.

The results of these various applications may be thus briefly stated.—Denmark and Sardinia promptly sent in their adhesion to the new convention. From Austria, the Netherlands, and Sweden, no answer has yet been received. Prussia, Russia, and Naples, under different pretexts, demur; Prussia and Naples declaring that they have no vessels at all in the African seas, and Russia evading the proposition by offering to "take up the thread of the negotiations as left by former congresses, and to open fresh conferences for the purpose of seeking out the most effectual means of preventing the slave-trade;" that is, as Lord Palmerston expresses it, of going backward instead of forward in the matter. The answer of the Brazilian government is, that as soon as the Portuguese trade in slaves is stopped, there will be none carried on between Africa and Brazil. Portugal evades the question; the minister replying, after three months' delay, that his loss of time from attending the chambers, has prevented his coming to any resolution on the subject. "We much mistake," says the reviewer, "the firmness as well as zeal in this cause, that will be shown by any man that we are likely to have at the head of foreign affairs, if such conduct be tamely submitted to from a country bound to us for services in time past, and in an especial manner at the present moment, and when not only honor and good faith, but mere honesty, are concerned in the fulfilment of her engagements. We must, when other means have failed, just take the matter into our own hands. . . . Let England say the Portuguese slave-trade shall cease, as Portugal has engaged to us that it shall, and who will, or ought to gainsay us?" Between

Great Britain and Spain, during the late ministry of Martínez de la Rosa, after continued efforts on the part of the former for eighteen months, a treaty was formed, containing not only a stipulation for the capture of vessels equipped for the slave-trade, but providing for the penal castigation of the owners, captains, and supercargoes, for the breaking up of the condemned vessels;—and for the delivery of the captives to British authorities. The geographical limits, also, within which the right of search is allowed, are far more extensive than those specified in the French convention. The immediate motive with Spain in subscribing to this treaty, was the expectation of assistance from England in carrying on the war against the Carlists: but the treaty itself is not the less valuable on that account. The great and essential difference between the present treaty and all previous ones concluded with Spain, for the suppression of the slave-trade, is this, that it does not depend for its fulfilment upon Spanish co-operation. All is left to the regulation of the British government, and the activity of British cruisers. The good effects of the arrangement are already seen. A vessel which arrived in England on the 16th of May, from the African station, reported that nineteen Spanish vessels, captured under the new treaty, were waiting at Sierra Leone, when she left, for adjudication; whereas the whole number of such vessels captured under the former treaties, had not, for several years, averaged more than *six per annum*."

We come now to our own country, the United States. And what shall we say? What must we say? What does the truth compel us to say? Why, that of all the countries appealed to by Great Britain and France on this momentous subject, the *United States is the only one which has returned a decided negative*. We neither do any thing ourselves to put down the accursed traffic, nor afford any facilities to enable others to put it down. Nay, rather, we stand between the slave and his deliverer. We are a drawback—a dead weight on the cause of bleeding humanity. How long shall this shameful apathy continue? How long shall we, who call ourselves the champions of freedom, close our ears to the groans, and our eyes to the tears and blood, and our hearts to the untold anguish of thousands and tens of thousands who are every year torn from home and friends and bosom companions, and sold into hopeless bondage, or perish amid the horrors of the "middle passage"? From the shores of bleeding Africa, and from the channels of the deep, from Brazil and from Cuba, Echo answers, "How long?"—*N. Y. Journal of Commerce, Sept., 1835.*

## EDINBURGH REVIEW.

We have, however, to record one instance of positive refusal to our request of accession to these conventions, and that, we grieve to say, comes from the United States of America—the first nation that, by its statute law, branded the slave-trade with the name of piracy. The conduct, moreover, of the President, does not appear to have been perfectly candid and ingenuous. There appears to have been delay in returning any answer, and when returned, it seems to have been of an evasive character. In the month of August, 1833, the English and French ministers jointly sent in copies of the recent conventions, and requested the accession of the United States. At the end of March following, seven months afterwards, an answer is returned, which, though certainly not of a favorable character in other respects, yet brings so prominently into view, as the insuperable objection, that the mutual right of search of suspected vessels was to be extended to the shores of the United States, (though we permitted it to American cruisers off the coast of our West Indian colonies,) that Lord Palmerston was naturally led to suppose that the other objections were superable. He, therefore, though aware how much the whole efficiency of the agreement will be impaired, consents to waive that part of it, in accordance with the wishes of the President, and in the earnest hope that he will, in return, make some concessions of feeling or opinion to the wishes of England and France, and to the necessities of a great and holy cause. The final answer, however, is, that under no condition, in no form, and with no restrictions, will the United States enter into any convention or treaty, or make combined efforts of any sort or kind, with other nations, for the suppression of the trade. We much mistake the state of public opinion in the United States, if its government will not find

itself under the necessity of changing this resolution. The slave-trade will henceforth, we have little doubt, be carried on under that flag of freedom; but as in no country, after our own, have such persevering efforts for its suppression been made, by men the most distinguished for goodness, wisdom, and eloquence, as in the United States, we cannot believe that their flag will long be prostituted to such vile purposes; and either they must combine with other nations, or they must increase the number and efficiency of their naval forces on the coast of Africa and elsewhere, and do their work single handed. We say this the more, because the motives which have actuated the government of the United States in this refusal, clearly have reference to the words, "right of search." They will not choose to see that this is a mutual restricted right, effected by convention, strictly guarded by stipulations for one definite object, and confined in its operations within narrow geographical limits; a right, moreover, which England and France have accorded to each other without derogating from the national honor of either. If we are right in our conjecture of the motive, and there is evidence to support us, we must consider that the President and his ministers have been, in this instance, actuated by a narrow provincial jealousy, and totally unworthy of a great and independent nation.

## ELIZABETH MARGARET CHANDLER.

*The Domestic Slave-trade.*—This is the most indefensible, as well as the most detestable feature in the system of slavery. It will not admit of even an attempt at justification. There are many who profess to deplore the existence of slavery, who yet consider its abolition impracticable, or unjust to the owners of the slaves, or dangerous to the community. Others again, will descant largely on the blessings and advantages of slavery to those who are favored with the enjoyment of its benefits, ending with a declaration that their situation, if restored to freedom, would be infinitely more deplorable. But none of these reasons can be urged in behalf of this shameful traffic. It is a guilt and an infamy for which our country has no excuse. If her slave population was entailed upon her against her will, and cannot now be got rid of, she is at least, under no compulsion to permit herself to be disgraced by this infamous traffic. If the state of the slaves is a happy one, their happiness cannot possibly be increased by their being torn from their homes and friends, manacled and driven in gangs across the country, exposed to the gaze and insults of an unfeeling rabble, or hurried on board a slave-ship, and conveyed they know not whither, save that it is far from all they have ever known or loved. If they are unfit for the station of freemen, it does not necessarily follow that they should be treated as brutes; now, though there may be dangerous consequences to be feared from their emancipation, can the security of the present state of things be in any wise increased by goading them to madness with excessive cruelty? Hard as the lot of the slave is, and ever must be, still while he is surrounded by those he loves, with the security that this blessing, at least, will be spared to him to soothe the darkness of his lot, and while the familiar faces and scenery which he has been accustomed to gaze on from childhood are still before him, he will probably indulge in an apathetic acquiescence with his fate, nor risk his present enjoyments for a doubtful future. But he who feels that

his dearest ties of life are broken, never more to be united, and is driven by anguish and a sense of injustice, into an utter recklessness of his fate, is a fit instrument to plan desperate deeds, and to infuse into the bosoms of others a portion of his own spirit. Thus should we allow entire validity, which we do not, to all the arguments that are urged in favor of the continuance of slavery, no one of them affords the slightest plea for this unchristian practice. It is utterly at variance with every law of humanity and religion, and in its very existence is a curse to the land in which it is tolerated.

*Slave produce.*—That, if there were no consumers of slave produce, there would be no slaves, is an axiom too self-evident to the meanest capacity, to require us to use a single argument in its demonstration. But that the class of consumers share equally in the guilt of slavery with those who are the more immediate upholders of the system, will not probably, by the multitude, be so readily admitted. Even while they acknowledge themselves to be the main supporters of this scheme of oppression, they would exonerate themselves from any portion of its turpitude; as if it were possible for them to be innocent of a crime of which they are wilfully the cause! Can they employ another in the commission of evil, enjoy the advantage of his villany, and yet suppose that the stain of iniquity clings only to him who was but the agent of their will? Were they disinterested reasoners, we think such would not be their decision. Their own hands do not, it is true, wield the blood-extorting lash, or rivet the fetter, but they know that it is done by others, in order to afford at the cheapest rate the luxuries which they will neither resign, nor make one exertion to obtain from the hands of freemen. They have no hesitation in branding the trafficker in human flesh with the stigma of shame and cruelty, but while they would not for the universe engage personally in the exercise of so much barbarity, they will not relinquish one single iota of the comforts it procures for them. Is this consistency? Is such fastidiousness the result of humanity! or has it not rather, if fairly examined, its root in mere selfishness? Their education has unfitted them for mingling actively in scenes of cruelty, they would sicken and shudder at the sight of wantonly shed blood, and the agonizing cries of a breaking heart would frighten sleep from their pillows, or were like a haunting spirit to their dreams. Is it so vastly meritorious, then, to consign to other hands what would be revolting to their feelings? Or may such sensibility claim its spring from the nobler principles of beneficence and justice, while they unhesitatingly receive from the hands of another, that which they have not nerve enough to obtain for themselves? Let them remember when they execrate the enormities of the slave system, that it is themselves who hold out the inducements for their perpetration. Guilty as the slaveholder may be, let them not flatter themselves that he alone is guilty. To them the criminality and hideousness of slavery are clearly discernible. But he is mentally benighted. The bribe which they have given him, the unrighteous mammon, hath "perverted his judg-



gent." He is compassed about with the iron bands of prejudice,—he fancies that to break the fetters of his slaves would be to insure his own ruin. But it is the purchasers of his ill-gotten produce who have woven around him the filmy web of prejudice. Let them but make it his interest to be just, and his moral perceptions will be clear as the daylight. Emancipation will no longer appear to him a visionary scheme, ruinous and impracticable. His opinions will be grounded on wiser and juster reasoning, and he will make haste to render back their liberty to those from whom he has so long withheld it. He who clings with so tenacious a grasp to his gathered stores of human wealth, while we hate his crime, may claim our pity for his self-delusion and his unhappy situation. But what have those to advance in behalf of their heartless conduct, who, with the full light of conviction around them, obstinately persist to abet him in his error? Nothing, absolutely nothing, beyond the miserable and even criminal plea of self-convenience, or a disinclination to encounter a trivial portion of salutary self-denial! And, they who can so lightly weigh their own gratification against the intolerable anguish of their sister's lot,—who count the sacrifice of a few paltry luxuries, too vast a ransom for the redemption of thousands and tens of thousands of their fellow-creatures from a state of servitude and darkness, are the good, the amiable, and the gentle of the earth. Such a maze of inconsistency is the human heart! We could fling away the pen, and weep in very shame and bitterness for the hard-heartedness of our sex. One would suppose that the bare knowledge of the terrible price at which those cherished comforts have been procured, would cause a woman to turn shuddering and loathingly away, as though they were infected with a taint of blood. And the curse of blood is upon them! Though the dark red stain may not be there visibly, yet the blood of all the many thousands of the slain, who have died amid the horrors and loathsomeness of the slave-ship—been hurled by capricious cruelty to the yawning wave, or sprang to its bosom in the madness of their proud despair—of those who have pined away to death beneath the slow tortures of a broken heart, who have perished beneath the torments of inventive tyranny, or on the ignominious gibbet—all this lies with a fearful weight upon this most foul and unnatural system, and that insatiable thirst for luxury and wealth in which it first originated, and by which it is still perpetuated.

Think of our country's glory,  
 All dimm'd with Afric's tears—  
 Her broad flag stain'd and gory  
 With the hoarded guilt of years!

Think of the frantic mother,  
 Lamenting for her child,  
 Till falling lashes smother  
 Her cries of anguish wild!

Think of the prayers ascending,  
 Yet shriek'd, alas! in vain,  
 When heart from heart is rending,  
 Ne'er to be joined again.

Shall we behold, unheeding,  
 Life's holiest feelings crush'd?  
 When woman's heart is bleeding,  
 Shall woman's voice be hush'd?

Oh, not by every blessing  
 That Heaven to thee may lend—  
 Remember their oppression,  
 Forget not, sister, friend.

*E. M. Chandler's Works.*

#### TO FRUDENCE CRANDALL.

Heaven bless thee, noble lady,  
 In thy purpose, good and high!  
 Give knowledge to the thirsting mind,  
 Light to the asking eye;  
 Unseal the intellectual page,  
 For those from whom dark pride,  
 With tyrant and unholy hands,  
 Would fain its treasures hide.

Still bear thou up unyielding,  
 'Gainst persecution's shock,  
 Gentle as woman's self, yet firm  
 And moveless as a rock;  
 A thousand spirits yield to thee  
 Their gushing sympathies,  
 The blessing of a thousand hearts  
 Around thy pathway lies.

E. M. C.

#### MRS. L. H. SIGOURNEY.

We have a goodly clime,  
 Broad vales and streams we boast,  
 Our mountain frontiers frown sublime,  
 Old ocean guards our coast;  
 Suns bless our harvest fair,  
 With fervid smile serene,  
 But a dark shade is gathering there!—  
 What can its blackness mean?

We have a birthright proud,  
 For our young sons to claim,  
 An eagle soaring o'er the cloud,  
 In freedom and in fame;  
 We have a scutcheon bright,  
 By our dear fathers bought—  
 A fearful blot distains its white!—  
 Who hath such evil wrought?

Our banner o'er the sea  
 Looks forth with starry eye,  
 Emblazoned, glorious, bold, and free,  
 A letter on the sky.  
 What hand, with shameful stain,  
 Hath marred its heavenly blue?  
 The yoke! the fetters! and the chain!  
 Say, are these emblems true?

*This day\* doth music rare  
 Swell through our nation's bound,  
 But Afric's wailing mingles there,  
 And Heaven doth hear the sound!  
 O God of power! we turn  
 In penitence to thee,  
 Bid our loved land the lesson learn--  
 To bid the slave be free.*

## WILLIAM B. TAPPAN.

Lift ye my country's banner high,  
 And fling abroad its gorgeous sheen;  
 Unroll its stripes upon the sky,  
 And let its lovely stars be seen.  
 Blood, blood, is on its spangled fold,  
 Yet from the battle comes it not;  
 God! all the seas thy channels hold,  
 Cannot wash out the guilty spot.  
 These glorious stars and stripes that led  
 Our lion-hearted fathers on,  
 Vailed only to the honored dead--  
 Beaming where fields and fame were won:  
 These symbols that to kings could tell  
 Our young republic's rising name,  
 And speak to falling realms, the knell  
 Of glory past, of future shame:  
 Dishonor'd shall they be by hands,  
 On which a sacrament doth lie?  
 The light that heralded to lands  
 Immortal glory--must it die?  
 No! let the earthquake-utterance be  
 From thousand swelling hearts--*not so!*  
 And let one voice from land and sea,  
 Return indignant answer--no!  
 Up then! determine, dare and do,  
 What justice claims, what freemen may;  
 What frowning heaven demands of you  
 While yet its muttering thunders stay;  
 That thou, for ever from this soil  
 Bid SLAVERY's withering blight depart;  
 And to the wretch restore the spoil,  
 Though thou may'st not the broken heart;  
 That thou thy brother from the dust  
 Lift up, and speak his spirit *free!*  
 That millions whom thy crime hath curst,  
 May blessings plead on thine and thee.  
 Then to the universe wide spread  
 Thy glorious stars, without a stain;  
 Bend from your skies, illustrious dead!  
 The world ye won is free again.

\* Fourth of July.

## JOHN PIERPONT.

Quench, righteous God, the thirst,  
 That Congo's sons hath curs'd—  
 The thirst for gold!  
 Shall not thy thunders speak,  
 Where Mammon's altars reek,  
 Where maids and matrons shrieks,  
 Bound, bleeding, sold?

Cast down, great God, the fane,  
 That, to unhallowed gains,  
 Round us have risen—  
 Temples, whose priesthood pore  
 Moses and Jesus o'er,  
 Then bolt the black man's door,  
 The poor man's prison!

## LYDIA MARIA CHILD.

In order to show the true aspect of slavery among us, I will state distinct propositions, each supported by the evidence of actually existing laws.

1. Slavery is hereditary and perpetual, to the last moment of the slave's earthly existence, and to all his descendants, to the latest posterity.

2. The labor of the slave is compulsory and uncompensated; while the kind of labor, the amount of toil, and the time allowed for rest, are dictated solely by the master. No bargain is made, no wages given. A pure despotism governs the human brute; and even his covering and provender, both as to quantity and quality, depend entirely on the master's discretion.

3. The slave being considered a personal chattel, may be sold, or pledged, or leased, at the will of his master. He may be exchanged for marketable commodities, or taken in execution for the debts, or taxes, either of a living, or a deceased master. Sold at auction, "either individually, or in lots to suit the purchaser," he may remain with his family, or be separated from them for ever.

4. Slaves can make no contracts, and have no legal right to any property, real or personal. Their own honest earnings, and the legacies of friends, belong, in point of law, to their masters.

5. Neither a slave, nor free colored person, can be a witness against any white or free man, in a court of justice, however atrocious may have been the crimes they have seen him commit: but they may give testimony against a fellow-slave, or free colored man, even in cases affecting life.

6. The slave may be punished at his master's discretion—without trial—without any means of legal redress,—whether his offence be real, or imaginary: and the master can transfer the same despotic power to any person, or persons, he may choose to appoint.

7. The slave is not allowed to resist any free man under any circumstances: his only safety consists in the fact that his owner may bring suit and recover the price of his body, in case his life is taken, or his limbs rendered unfit for labor.

8. Slaves cannot redeem themselves, or obtain a change of masters, though cruel treatment may have rendered such a change necessary for their personal safety.

9. The slave is entirely unprotected in his domestic relations.

10. The laws greatly obstruct the manumission of slaves, even where the master is willing to enfranchise them.

11. The operation of the laws tends to deprive slaves of religious instruction and consolation.

12. The whole power of the laws is exerted to keep slaves in a state of the lowest ignorance.

13. There is in this country a monstrous inequality of law and right. What is a trifling fault in a white man, is considered highly criminal in the slave; the same offences which cost a white man a few dollars only, are punished in the negro with death.

14. The laws operate most oppressively upon free people of color.—

*Appeal in favor of that class of Americans called Africans.*

## SARAH M. GRIMKÉ—ANGELINA E. GRIMKÉ.

### *Reasons for action at the North.*

I. Slavery now exists in the District of Columbia, over which, according to the constitution of the United States, congress has power "to exercise *exclusive* legislation in *all* cases whatsoever."

II. Slave-traders in the District of Columbia, by the payment of \$400 apiece, are licensed by congress to buy and sell American citizens, and this "price of blood" is thrown into the coffers of the nation.

III. Northern members of congress are striving to perpetuate slavery in the District of Columbia. It was only last year that they referred certain petitions and resolutions respecting the abolition of slavery in the District to a select committee with instructions to report, "That in the opinion of this House, congress ought *not* in any way to interfere with slavery in the District of Columbia." And the present congress have treated them with contempt. Even the ex-president who so zealously contends for the right of petition, has "declared himself *adverse* to the abolition of slavery in the District."

IV. In the District of Columbia the prisons which were built with *northern* as well as southern money, are continually thrown open to receive innocent men, women, and children, who are lodged in their gloomy cells until the slave-trader has made the necessary arrangements for dragging them into hopeless bondage. "One keeper of the jail in Washington stated, that in five years 450 colored persons had been lodged there for *safe keeping*," i. e., until they could be dis-

posed of in the course of the slave-trade; besides nearly 300 who had been taken up and lodged there as runaways. In 1834, there were at one time, thirteen incarcerated in this prison, who claimed that they were entitled to their freedom.

V. Slavery now exists in the territory of Florida, which is under the exclusive jurisdiction of congress.

VI. The inter-state slave-trade, which is productive of an enormous amount of misery and crime, might be regulated or abolished by congress; for the constitutional power to legislate on this subject is vested in that body.

VII. According to the constitution of the United States, *northern* men are pledged to put down servile insurrections at the South; their physical strength is pledged to support this system of oppression and cruelty, heathenism and robbery.

VIII. Northern votes in congress have admitted seven new slave states into the Union since the constitution was adopted. In this way northern men have enlarged "the place of the tent of slavery, stretched forth the curtains of her habitation, lengthened her cords and strengthened her stakes."

IX. Conformably to the constitution of the United States, the northern states deliver up the fugitive slave into the hands of his master. But this is not all; the colored man who is taken up on suspicion that he has no right to *his own body*, is denied a trial by a jury, and is thrown into *northern* prisons until his claimant is ready to return him into abject slavery. And furthermore, Pennsylvania and New Jersey have gratuitously passed laws to secure the slaveholder his *unnatural* but legal right to his slave for six months after he has voluntarily brought that slave under their jurisdiction. New York has been even more obsequious to southern convenience, and extended the term to nine months. Indeed, so exceedingly lax are the laws of the northern states with regard to colored persons, that they are constantly liable to be kidnapped. We know that they *often* are, the *free* as well as the bond, and that many a *free* citizen of color has been stolen and reduced to bondage, and sold on southern vendue tables.

X. Northern churches receive slaveholders to their communion tables, and slaveholding ministers into their pulpits, whilst at the same time they close their pulpits against anti-slavery ministers, who are pleading the cause of the dumb.

XI. Northern ministers go to the South and close their lips on the subject of slavery. They will not preach the truth to the people of their charge: many of them become slaveholders, and thus strengthen the hands of the oppressor by their examples.

XII. Northern men go to the South to make their fortunes, they frequently become slaveholders, and very often *harder* masters, than those who have been born and bred at the South.

XIII. Northern men are themselves *slaveholders*, and in the city of New York alone, the merchants hold mortgages on the southern plantations and slaves to the amount of \$10,000,000. This fact was

ascertained last spring. And furthermore, a person interested in the Texas insurrection, told Judge Jay, that there were two merchants in New York, ready to engage in the African slave-trade, to supply that country with slaves under the specious name of indented apprentices, if it was wrested from Mexico. Look at the fact that the brig *Latona* of New York, which sailed for St. Thomas, last autumn, was afterwards sent to Cuba to be sold as a *Guineaman*. This vessel was the property of a New-York merchant.

XIV. Northern manufacturers, merchants, and consumers, are constantly lending their aid to support the system of slavery, by purchasing a large amount of the products of the unrequited labor of the slave.

XV. Northern prejudice against color is grinding the colored man to the dust in our free states, and thus is strengthening the hands of the oppressor continually. When the slaveholders hear that the colored citizens of the North are not permitted to erect a college at New Haven; that their schools at Canterbury and Canaan are broken up; that they are continually subject to great inconveniences and great indignities in travelling from place to place, because the pride of *northern* aristocracy cannot bear a colored person at the same table, in the same boat cabin, in the same rail car with the whites, or to sit side by side with them even in the temples of God:—when they hear that a Presbyterian minister was, at the last anniversary of the alumni of Princeton college, actually *kicked* out of the chapel because he wore a darker skin than their own, thinkest thou they cannot discern in these things the *very same spirit* which leads them to degrade and brutalize their colored brethren at home?

We now feel prepared to present our correspondent with “the definite, practicable means by which Northerners can put an end to slavery in the South.” Let them petition congress unceasingly to abolish slavery and the slave-trade in the District of Columbia, and let them vote for no senators and representatives who will not assert the right of their constituents to petition, and the duty of congress to receive and hear those petitions, and refer them to a committee for solemn consideration and judicious action. Let them protest against the use of the national prisons for the iniquitous purpose of confining slaves, and free people of color taken up on suspicion of being runaways.—Let Northerners petition for the abolition of slavery in the territory of Florida, and the entire breaking up of the inter-state slave-trade. Let them respectfully ask for an alteration in that part of the constitution by which they are bound to assist the South in quelling servile insurrections. Let them see to it that they send no man to congress who would give his vote to the admission of another slave state into the national Union. Let them protest against the injustice and cruelty of delivering the fugitive slave back to his master, as being a direct infringement of the Divine command. Deut. xxiii, 15, 16. Let them petition their different legislatures to grant a jury trial to the friendless, helpless runaway, and for the repeal of those laws which secure to the slaveholder his legal right to his slave, after he has

voluntarily brought him within the verge of their jurisdiction, and for the enactment of such laws as will protect the colored man, woman, and child, from the fangs of the kidnapper, who is constantly walking about in the northern states, seeking whom he may devour. Let the northern churches refuse to receive slaveholders at their communion tables, or to permit slaveholding ministers to enter their pulpits. Let those northern ministers who go to the South "Cry aloud and spare not, lift up their voices like a trumpet and show the people their transgressions, and the house of Jacob their sins;"—let them refuse to countenance the system of slavery by owning slaves themselves. Let northern men who go to the South to make their fortunes, see to it, that those fortunes are not made out of the unrequited labor of the slave. Let northern merchants refuse to receive mortgages or take slaves, seeing that this is a virtual acknowledgment that man can hold man as property. Let them carefully avoid participating in any way in the African slave-trade. Let northern manufacturers refuse to purchase the cotton for the cultivation of which the laborer has received no wages. Let the grocer refuse to buy the sugar and rice of the South, so long as "the hire of the laborers who have reaped down their fields is kept back by fraud." Let the merchant refuse to receive the articles manufactured out of slave-grown cotton, and let the consumer refuse to purchase either the rice, sugar, or cotton articles, to produce which has cost the slave his unpaid labor, his tears, and his blood. Every Northerner may in this way bear a faithful testimony against slavery at the South, by withdrawing his pecuniary support.

## DECLARATION OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION,

*Assembled at Philadelphia, December 4, 1833.*

The Convention, assembled in the city of Philadelphia, to organize a National Anti-Slavery Society, promptly seize the opportunity to promulgate the following DECLARATION OF SENTIMENTS, as cherished by them in relation to the enslavement of one-sixth portion of the American people.

More than fifty-seven years have elapsed since a band of patriots convened in this place, to devise measures for the deliverance of this country from a foreign yoke. The corner stone upon which they founded the TEMPLE OF FREEDOM was broadly this—"that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, LIBERTY, and the pursuit of happiness." At the sound of their trumpet-call, three millions of people rose up as from the sleep of death, and rushed to the strife of blood; deeming it more glorious to die instantly as freemen, than desirable to live one hour as slaves. They were few in number—poor in resources; but the honest conviction that TRUTH, JUSTICE, and RIGHT, were on their side, made them invincible.

We have met together for the achievement of an enterprise, without which, that of our fathers is incomplete; and which, for its magnitude, solemnity, and probable results upon the destiny of the world, as far transcends theirs, as moral truth does physical force.

In purity of motive, in earnestness of zeal, in decision of purpose, in intrepidity of action, in steadfastness of faith, in sincerity of spirit, we would not be inferior to them.

Their principles led them to wage war against their oppressors, and to spill human blood like water, in order to be free. Ours forbid the doing of evil that good



may come, and lead us to reject, and to entreat the oppressed to reject, the use of all carnal weapons for deliverance from bondage; relying solely upon those which are spiritual, and mighty through God to the pulling down of strong holds.

Their measures were physical resistance—the marshalling in arms—the hostile array—the mortal encounter. Ours shall be such only as the opposition of moral purity to moral corruption—the destruction of error by the potency of truth—the overthrow of prejudice by the power of love—and the abolition of slavery by the spirit of repentance.

Their grievances, great as they were, were trifling in comparison with the wrongs and sufferings of those for whom we plead. Our fathers were never slaves—never bought and sold like cattle—never shut out from the light of knowledge and religion—never subjected to the lash of brutal task-masters.

But those for whose emancipation we are striving,—constituting at the present time at least one-sixth part of our countrymen,—are recognised by the law, and treated by their fellow beings, as marketable commodities, as goods and chattels, as brute beasts; are plundered daily of the fruits of their toil without redress; really enjoying no constitutional nor legal protection from licentious and murderous outrages upon their persons; are ruthlessly torn asunder—the tender babe from the arms of its frantic mother—the heart-broken wife from her weeping husband—at the caprice or pleasure of irresponsible tyrants. For the crime of having a dark complexion, they suffer the pangs of hunger, the infliction of stripes, and the ignominy of brutal servitude. They are kept in heathenish darkness by laws expressly enacted to make their instruction a criminal offence.

These are the prominent circumstances in the condition of more than two millions of our people, the proof of which may be found in thousands of indisputable facts, and in the laws of the slaveholding states.

Hence we maintain,—that in view of the civil and religious privileges of this nation, the guilt of its oppression is unequalled by any other on the face of the earth; and, therefore,

That it is bound to repent instantly, to undo the heavy burden, to break every yoke, and to let the oppressed go free.

We further maintain,—that no man has a right to enslave or imbrute his brother—to hold or acknowledge him, for one moment, as a piece of merchandise—to keep back his hire by fraud—or to brutalize his mind by denying him the means of intellectual, social, and moral improvement.

The right to enjoy liberty is inalienable. To invade it, is to usurp the prerogative of Jehovah. Every man has a right to his own body,—to the products of his own labor—to the protection of law, and to the common advantages of society. It is piracy to buy or steal a native African, and subject him to servitude. Surely the sin is as great to enslave an AMERICAN as an AFRICAN.

Therefore we believe and affirm—That there is no difference, in principle, between the African slave-trade and American slavery:

That every American citizen who retains a human being in involuntary bondage as his property, is [according to Scripture, Ex. xxi, 16,] a MAN STEALER:

That the slaves ought instantly to be set free, and brought under the protection of law:

That if they had lived from the time of Pharaoh down to the present period, and had been entailed through successive generations, their right to be free could never have been alienated, but their claims would have constantly risen in solemnity:

That all those laws which are now in force, admitting the right of slavery, are therefore before God utterly null and void; being an audacious usurpation of the Divine prerogative, a daring infringement on the law of nature, a base overthrow of the very foundations of the social compact, a complete extinction of all the relations, endearments, and obligations of mankind, and a presumptuous transgression of all the holy commandments—and that therefore they ought to be instantly abrogated.

We further believe and affirm—That all persons of color who possess the qualifications which are demanded of others, ought to be admitted forthwith to the enjoyment of the same privileges, and the exercise of the same prerogatives, as others; and that the paths of preferment, of wealth, and of intelligence, should be opened as widely to them as to persons of a white complexion.

We maintain, that no compensation should be given to the planters emancipating their slaves,

Because it would be a surrender of the great fundamental principle, that man cannot hold property in man;

Because slavery is a crime, and therefore it is not an article to be sold;

Because the holders of slaves are not the just proprietors of what they claim; freeing the slaves is not depriving them of property, but restoring it to its right owners; it is not wronging the master, but righting the slave—restoring him to himself;

Because immediate and general emancipation would only destroy nominal, not real property: it would not amputate a limb or break a bone of the slaves, but by infusing motives into their breasts, would make them doubly valuable to the masters as free laborers; and

Because, if compensation is to be given at all, it should be given to the outraged and guiltless slaves, and not to those who have plundered and abused them.

We regard as delusive, cruel, and dangerous, any scheme of expatriation which pretends to aid, either directly or indirectly, in the emancipation of the slaves, or to be a substitute for the immediate and total abolition of slavery.

We fully and unanimously recognise the sovereignty of each state, to legislate exclusively on the subject of the slavery which is tolerated within its limits; we concede that congress, *under the present national compact*, has no right to interfere with any of the slave states, in relation to this momentous subject:

But we maintain that Congress has a right, and is solemnly bound, to suppress the domestic slave-trade between the several states, and to abolish slavery in those portions of our territory which the Constitution has placed under its exclusive jurisdiction.

We also maintain that there are, at the present time, the highest obligations resting upon the people of the free states, to remove slavery by moral and political action, as prescribed in the Constitution of the United States. They are now living under a pledge of their tremendous physical force, to fasten the galling fetters of tyranny upon the limbs of millions in the southern states; they are liable to be called at any moment to suppress a general insurrection of the slaves; they authorize the slave owner to vote for three-fifths of his slaves as property, and thus enable him to perpetuate his oppression; they support a standing army at the South for its protection; and they seize the slave who has escaped into their territories, and send him back to be tortured by an enraged master or a brutal driver. This relation to slavery is criminal and full of danger: IT MUST BE BROKEN UP.

These are our views and principles—these, our designs and measures. With entire confidence in the overruling justice of God, we plant ourselves upon the Declaration of our Independence and the truths of divine revelation as upon the Everlasting Rock.

We shall organize Anti-Slavery Societies, if possible, in every city, town, and village, in our land.

We shall send forth agents to lift up the voice of remonstrance, of warning, of entreaty, and rebuke.

We shall circulate, unsparingly and extensively, anti-slavery tracts and periodicals.

We shall enlist the pulpit and the press in the cause of the suffering and the dumb.

We shall aim at a purification of the Churches from all participation in the guilt of slavery.

We shall encourage the labor of freemen rather than that of slaves, by giving a preference to their productions; and

We shall spare no exertions nor means to bring the whole nation to speedy repentance.

Our trust for victory is solely in GOD. We may be personally defeated, but our principles never. TRUTH, JUSTICE, REASON, HUMANITY, must and will gloriously triumph. Already a host is coming up to the help of the Lord against the mighty, and the prospect before us is full of encouragement.

Submitting this DECLARATION to the candid examination of the people of this country, and of the friends of liberty throughout the world, we hereby affix our signatures to it; pledging ourselves that, under the guidance and by the help of Almighty God, we will do all that in us lies, consistently with this Declaration of our principles, to overthrow this most execrable system of slavery that has ever

been witnessed upon earth—to deliver our land from its deadliest enemy—to wipe out the foulest stain which rests upon our national escutcheon—and to secure to the colored population of the United States all the rights and privileges which belong to them as men, and as Americans—come what may to our persons, our interests, or our reputation—whether we live to witness the triumph of LIBERTY, JUSTICE, and HUMANITY, or perish untimely as martyrs in this great, benevolent, and holy cause.

Done in Philadelphia, this sixth day of December, A. D., 1833.

## CONSTITUTION OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

### PREAMBLE.

WHEREAS the Most High God “hath made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on all the face of the earth,” and hath commanded them to love their neighbors as themselves; and whereas our national existence is based upon this principle, as recognised in the Declaration of Independence, “that all mankind are created equal, and that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness;” and whereas, after the lapse of nearly sixty years, since the faith and honor of the American people were pledged to this avowal, before Almighty God, and the world, nearly one-sixth part of the nation are held in bondage by their fellow-citizens; and whereas slavery is contrary to the principles of natural justice, of our republican form of government, and of the Christian religion, and is destructive of the prosperity of the country, while it is endangering the peace, union and liberties of the States; and whereas we believe it the duty and interest of the masters, immediately to emancipate their slaves, and that no scheme of expatriation, either voluntary or by compulsion, can remove this great and increasing evil; and whereas we believe that it is practicable, by appeals to the consciences, hearts, and interests of the people, to awaken a public sentiment throughout the nation, that will be opposed to the continuance of slavery in any part of the republic, and by effecting the speedy abolition of slavery, prevent a general convulsion; and whereas we believe we owe it to the oppressed, to our fellow-citizens who hold slaves, to our whole country, to posterity, and to God, to do all that is lawfully in our power to bring about the extinction of slavery, we do hereby agree, with a prayerful reliance on the Divine aid, to form ourselves into a society, to be governed by the following

### CONSTITUTION.

ART. I.—This Society shall be called the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

ART. II.—The object of this Society is the entire abolition of slavery in the United States. While it admits that each state in which slavery exists, has, by the Constitution of the United States, the exclusive right to *legislate* in regard to its abolition in said state, it shall aim to convince all our fellow-citizens, by arguments addressed to their understandings and consciences, that slaveholding is a heinous crime in the sight of God, and that the duty, safety, and best interests of all concerned, require its *immediate abandonment*, without expatriation. The Society will also endeavor, in a constitutional way, to influence Congress to put an end to the domestic slave-trade, and to abolish slavery in all those portions of our common country which come under its control, especially in the District of Columbia,—and likewise to prevent the extension of it to any state that may be hereafter admitted to the Union.

ART. III.—This Society shall aim to elevate the character and condition of the people of color, by encouraging their intellectual, moral, and religious improvement, and by removing public prejudice, that thus they may, according to their intellectual and moral worth, share an equality with the whites, of civil and religious privileges; but this Society will never, in any way, countenance the oppressed in vindicating their rights by resorting to physical force.

ART. IV.—Any person who consents to the principles of this Constitution, who contributes to the funds of this Society, and is not a slaveholder, may be a member of this Society, and shall be entitled to vote at the meetings.

ART. V.—The officers of this Society shall be a President, Vice Presidents, a Secretary of Foreign Correspondence, a Secretary of Domestic Correspondence, a Recording Secretary, a Treasurer, and a Board of Managers, composed of the

above, and not less than ten other members of the Society. They shall be annually elected by the members of the Society, and five shall constitute a quorum.

ART. VI.—The Board of Managers shall annually elect an Executive Committee, to consist of not less than five, nor more than twelve members, which shall be located in New York, who shall have power to enact their own by-laws, fill any vacancy in their body, employ agents, determine what compensation shall be paid to agents, and to the Corresponding Secretaries, direct the Treasurer in the application of all moneys, and call special meetings of the Society. They shall make arrangements for all meetings of the Society, make an annual written report of their doings, the income, expenditures, and funds of the Society, and shall hold stated meetings, and adopt the most energetic measures in their power to advance the objects of the Society.

ART. VII.—The President shall preside at all meetings of the Society, or in his absence, one of the Vice Presidents, or, in their absence, a President *pro tem*. The Corresponding Secretaries shall conduct the correspondence of the Society. The Recording Secretary shall notify all meetings of the Society, and of the Executive Committee, and shall keep records of the same in separate books. The Treasurer shall collect the subscriptions, make payments at the direction of the Executive Committee, and present a written and audited account to accompany the annual report.

ART. VIII.—The annual meeting of the Society shall be held each year at such time and place as the Executive Committee may direct, when the accounts of the Treasurer shall be presented, the annual report read, appropriate addresses delivered, the Officers chosen, and such other business transacted as shall be deemed expedient. A special meeting shall always be held on the Tuesday immediately preceding the second Thursday in May, in the city of New York, at ten o'clock, A. M., provided the annual meeting be not held there at that time.

ART. IX.—Any Anti-Slavery Society, or association, founded on the same principles, may become auxiliary to this Society. The Officers of each Auxiliary Society shall be ex-officio members of the Parent Institution, and shall be entitled to deliberate and vote in the transaction of its concerns.

ART. X.—This Constitution may be amended, at any annual meeting of the Society, by a vote of two-thirds of the members present, provided the amendments proposed have been previously submitted, in writing, to the Executive Committee.

## ADDRESS TO THE PUBLIC.

In behalf of the American Anti-Slavery Society, we solicit the candid attention of the public to the following declaration of our principles and objects. Were the charges which are brought against us, made only by individuals who are interested in the continuance of Slavery, and by such as are influenced solely by unworthy motives, this address would be unnecessary; but there are those who merit and possess our esteem, who would not voluntarily do us injustice, and who have been led by gross misrepresentations to believe that we are pursuing measures at variance not only with the constitutional rights of the South, but with the precepts of humanity and religion. To such we offer the following explanations and assurances.

1st. We hold that Congress has no more right to abolish slavery in the southern states than in the French West India Islands. Of course we desire no national legislation on the subject.

2d. We hold that slavery can only be lawfully abolished by the Legislatures of the several states in which it prevails, and that the exercise of any other than moral influence, to induce such abolition, is unconstitutional.

3d. We believe that Congress has the same right to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, that the state governments have within their respective jurisdictions, and that it is their duty to efface so foul a blot from the national escutcheon.

4th. We believe that American citizens have the right to express and publish their opinions of the constitutions, laws, and institutions of any and every state and nation under Heaven; and we mean never to surrender the liberty of speech, of the press, or of conscience—blessings we have inherited from our fathers, and which we intend, as far as we are able, to transmit unimpaired to our children.

5th. We have uniformly deprecated all forcible attempts on the part of the slaves

to recover their liberty. And were it in our power to address them, we would exhort them to observe a quiet and peaceful demeanor, and would assure them that no insurrectionary movement on their part, would receive from us the slightest aid or countenance.

6th. We would deplore any servile insurrection, both on account of the calamities which would attend it, and on account of the occasion which it might furnish of increased severity and oppression.

7th. We are charged with sending incendiary publications to the South. If by the term *incendiary* is meant publications containing arguments and facts to prove slavery to be a moral and political evil, and that duty and policy require its immediate abolition, the charge is true. But if this term is used to imply publications encouraging insurrection, and designed to excite the slaves to break their fetters, the charge is utterly and unequivocally false. We beg our fellow-citizens to notice, that this charge is made without proof, and by many who confess that they have never read our publications, and that those who make it, offer to the public no evidence from our writings in support of it.

8th. We are accused of sending our publications to the slaves, and it is asserted that their tendency is to excite insurrections. Both the charges are false. These publications are not intended for the slaves; and were they able to read them, they would find in them no encouragement to insurrection.

9th. We are accused of employing agents in the slave states to distribute our publications. We have never had one such Agent. We have sent no *packages* of our papers to any person in those states for distribution, except to five respectable resident citizens, at their own request. But we have sent, by mail, single papers addressed to public officers, editors of newspapers, clergymen, and others. If, therefore, our object is to excite the slaves to insurrection, the *MASTERS* are our agents!

10th. We believe slavery to be sinful, injurious to this, and to every other country in which it prevails; we believe immediate emancipation to be the duty of every slaveholder, and that the immediate abolition of slavery, by those who have the right to abolish it, would be safe and wise. These opinions we have freely expressed, and we certainly have no intention to refrain from expressing them in future, and urging them upon the consciences and hearts of our fellow-citizens who hold slaves or apologize for slavery.

11th. We believe that the education of the poor is required by duty, and by a regard for the permanency of our republican institutions. There are thousands and tens of thousands of our fellow citizens, even in the free states, sunk in abject poverty, and who, on account of their complexion, are virtually kept in ignorance, and whose instruction in certain cases is actually prohibited by law! We are anxious to protect the rights, and to promote the virtue and happiness of the colored portion of our population, and on this account we have been charged with a design to encourage intermarriages between the whites and blacks. This charge has been repeatedly, and is now again denied; while we repeat that the tendency of our sentiments is to put an end to the criminal amalgamation that prevails wherever slavery exists.

12th. We are accused of acts that tend to a dissolution of the Union, and even of wishing to dissolve it. We have never "calculated the value of the Union," because we believe it to be inestimable; and that the abolition of slavery will remove the chief danger of its dissolution; and one of the many reasons why we cherish, and will endeavor to preserve the Constitution, is, that it restrains Congress from making any law "abridging the freedom of speech or of the press."

Such, fellow-citizens, are our principles. Are they unworthy of Republicans and of Christians? Or are they in truth so atrocious, that in order to prevent their diffusion, you are yourselves willing to surrender, at the dictation of others, the invaluable privilege of free discussion, the very birthright of Americans? Will you, in order that the abominations of slavery may be concealed from public view, and that the capital of your republic may continue to be, as it now is, under the sanction of Congress, the great slave mart of the American continent, consent that the general government, in acknowledged defiance of the Constitution and laws, shall appoint, throughout the length and breadth of your land, ten thousand censors of the press, each of whom shall have the right to inspect every document you may commit to the post-office, and to suppress every pamphlet and newspaper, whether

religious or political, which in his sovereign pleasure he may adjudge to contain an unnecessary article? Surely we need not remind you, that if you submit to such an encroachment on your liberties, the days of our republic are numbered, and that although abolitionists may be the first, they will not be the last victims offered at the shrine of arbitrary power.

ARTHUR TAPPAN, *President.*

JOHN RANKIN, *Treasurer.*

WILLIAM JAY, *Sec'y of Foreign Correspondence.*

ELIZUR WRIGHT, JR., *Sec'y of Domestic Cor.*

ABRAHAM L. COX, M. D., *Recording Sec'y.*

LEWIS TAPPAN,

JOSHUA LEAVITT,

SAMUEL E. CORNISH,

SIMON S. JOCKLYN,

THEODORE S. WRIGHT,

*Members of  
the  
Executive Committee.*

*New York, September 3d, 1835.*

## NEW-ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The constitution and the laws have left to us means to spread and to carry into effect the doctrine of human rights, of universal liberty. The law, at least, in the free states, allows the use of all means, except those which our own conscience would forbid; the constitution of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society permits no others than such as are sanctioned by law, humanity and religion. It is enough that we have freedom to speak and to print; freedom peacefully to assemble, and associate, to consult, and to petition the government of the Union as well as the legislature of every state, and thus by individual and united exertion, to act upon the public mind. Thus armed with all the legitimate weapons of truth, we feel bound in conscience never to lay them down until the principle that man can hold property in man is effaced from our statute books, and held in abhorrence by public opinion. After the most careful examination, we are convinced that slavery is unjust in itself, and cannot be justified by any laws or circumstances; that it wars against Christianity, and is condemned by the Declaration of our Independence. We are convinced that it is injurious to every branch of industry, and more injurious still to the mind and character both of the master and the slave. Its existence is the chief cause of all our political dissensions; it tends to unsettle the groundwork of our government, so that every institution, founded on the common ground of our Union, is like an edifice on a volcanic soil, ever liable to have its foundation shaken, and the whole structure consumed by subterraneous fire. The danger of a servile and a civil war is gaining every year, every day; for the annual increase of the slave population is more than sixty thousand; and every day about two hundred children are born into slavery. As the more northern of the slave states, seeing the advantages of free labor, dispose of their slaves in a more southern market, and by degrees abolish servitude, the whole slave population, and with it the danger of a terrible revolution, are crowded together in the more southern states. Under all these threatening circumstances, what have the southern states, what has congress done, to avert the impending calamity from the Union? Congress, which has full and exclusive power to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and in the territories, and to abolish the domestic as well as the foreign slave trade, shrinks from touching the subject. The fear of instant difficulties to be encountered, overcomes the more patriotic fear of the ever increasing evils engendered by improvident delay, which reserves to our descendants, if we should escape them, the inevitable consequences of our own culpable neglect.

And what has been done in the slaveholding states to prepare the great change, from a corrupt to a sound and vigorous state of society? There are, indeed, benevolent individuals endeavoring to elevate their slaves by oral instruction, and by allowing them to cultivate portions of land for the joint profit of the master and the laborers. But the law and the general practice, so far from endeavoring to diminish,

are calculated rather to increase the evil in order to render it more secure, to imbrute the slave more and more, and extinguish in him every aspiration and pretension to be a man. Hence the laws against teaching a slave have become more numerous, and the penalties more severe, particularly in those states in which the colored population is continually gaining upon the white. They refuse to free the slaves on the ground of their not being fitted for the proper use of freedom; and they refuse to prepare them for it, because the preparatory course would induce them to throw off the yoke instantly.

In this hopeless state of things, a few individuals, deeply impressed with the great and increasing evil of slavery, have thought it their duty to unite their efforts to undeceive the public mind, to rouse the fortunate heirs of freedom to a sense of their own obligation to extend and secure the blessings they possess. They saw that the most powerful men in the nation were inactive, either because the magnitude of the evil led them to doubt the possibility of finding an adequate remedy, or because they feared to disturb the political or commercial connexions between the North and the South, or because they were prejudiced themselves, or thought it a hopeless attempt to conquer the prejudice of others.—The disinterested devotion of the few who went forth to prepare the way for the gospel of universal freedom by teaching that slavery is a sin, of which all the people of this country are more or less guilty, and ought immediately to repent and to reform—the generous efforts of a few ardent minds have kindled the philanthropic sympathies of many.

The hostility, and still more the indifference with which the sentiments of the first champions of immediate abolition, were received by the majority of influential men in this country, may have betrayed some of them occasionally into ungoverned and intemperate expressions. Still, the people at large begin to feel that the object, as well as the motives, of the friends of the oppressed are right; and as soon as the conviction of a good cause has once unsealed the deep fountains of the heart, and has engaged the energies of a free people, it is as vain to attempt to check or divert their onward course, as to coax or force Niagara to roll back its mighty waters from Lake Ontario to Erie.

But the dissemination of Anti-Slavery sentiments, it is said, will be productive of a servile and civil war, and terminate in the dissolution of the Union. Now if there is any thing in the theory of government that can be considered as an unquestionable truth, it is the principle that *free discussion* of every thing that concerns the constitution and government, is the indispensable condition, the conservative principle of every republic. The constitution of our country has fully recognised this conservative principle, in ordaining that no law shall be enacted "*abridging the freedom of speech or of the press.*" And what more have abolitionists done, what else do they aim at, than *free discussion* of a part of our social system? To collect and disseminate correct information, to argue, to answer objections, and to advise—these, and no other means, are authorized by the constitution of any Anti-Slavery Society in the United States. However strongly and urgently the sin and misery of servitude have been set forth in the writings that have appeared with the sanction of these Societies, yet they have never countenanced, but always most earnestly disapproved the use of force, and the desperate recourse to insurrection. They have appealed to the conscience and the self-interest both of the slaveholder and the slave; and on the ground of religion as well as worldly prudence, they have urged the masters to give up of their own accord, their despotic power, and the slaves to be subject to their masters, with a religious trust that the voice of reason and Christianity will ere long overcome the partiality of the law which makes the enjoyment of the rights of man to depend on the color of his skin.

You who discern the signs of the time, and are guided by them—do you remember how your forefathers left their father-land, to seek liberty among strangers and savages? Do you remember how the sons of the Pilgrims rather ventured their lives and their all in desperate fight; than consent to pay a paltry tax, because imposed by unlawful authority? Did not your fathers sign the Declaration of Independence and human liberty? And did not the same spirit that gave you strength to overcome the bands of oppressors and mercenaries in your devoted land—follow the fugitives to their own homes, and wake the nations of the old world? France, Italy, Spain, Germany, Poland, England, have felt the touch of the redeeming angel. A spirit of keen inquiry is going through the world, to examine every creed and every charter; it does not believe in the "divine right of

kings;" it will not pass over the flaw, the fatal defect in the title of a state, that under the specious name of a republic men the authority of the law and the sword of justice, to seal and secure the oppression of more than one-sixth of its inhabitants. The world has heard the tocsin of truth, and is awaking. Man is felt to be man, whether European prejudice frown upon him on account of his station, or American prejudice because of his color. Europe, which had rekindled the extinguished lamp of liberty at the altar of our revolutions still nourishes the holy fire; England goes before us as a torch-bearer, leading the way to the liberation of mankind. The despotism which our forefathers could not bear in their native country, is expiring, and the sword of justice in her reformed hands, has applied its exterminating edge to slavery. Shall the United States, the free United States, which could not bear the bonds of a King, cradle the bondage which a king is abolishing? Shall a republic be less free than a monarchy? Shall we, in the vigor and buoyancy of our manhood, be less energetic in righteousness than a kingdom in its age?

You to whom the destinies of this country are committed, Americans, patriots in public and private life, on you it depends to prove, whether your liberty is the fruit of your determined choice or of a fortunate accident. If you are republicans, not by birth only, but from principle, then let the avenues, all the avenues of light and liberty, of truth and love, be opened wide to every soul within the nation—that the bitterest curse of millions may no longer be, that they were born and bred in "the land of the free and the home of the brave."

CHARLES FOLLEN, CYRUS PITT GROSVENOR, JOHN G. WHITTIER, D. PHELPS, JOSHUA V. HINES,	}	Committee.
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*Address of New-England Anti-Slavery Society, 1834.*

## OHIO ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

### *Declaration of Sentiment.*

The undersigned, citizens of the state of Ohio, having assembled in convention for the purpose of organizing a State Anti-Slavery Society, avail themselves of the opportunity thus afforded, to make an exposition of their sentiments upon the subject of slavery, and the means which they deem necessary for its removal.

1st. We believe slavery to be a sin—always, everywhere, and only, sin—sin, in itself, apart from its occasional rigors incidental to its administration, and from all those perils, liabilities and positive inflictions, to which its victims are continually exposed—sin, in the nature of the act which creates it, and in the elements which constitute it—sin, because it converts persons into things, makes men property, God's image merchandise; because it forbids men to use themselves for the advancement of their own well-being, and turns them into mere instruments, to be used by others, solely for the benefit of the users; because it constitutes one man the owner of the body, soul and spirit of other men—gives him power and permission to make his own pecuniary profit the great end of their being, thus striking them out of existence as beings possessing rights and susceptibilities of happiness, and forcing them to exist merely as appendages to his own existence. In other words, because slavery holds and uses men, as mere means for the accomplishment of ends, of which ends their own interests are not a part—thus annihilating the sacred and eternal distinction between a person and a thing—a distinction proclaimed an axiom by all human consciousness—a distinction created by God, crowned with glory and honor in the attributes of intelligence, morality, accountability and immortal existence, and commended to the homage of universal mind by the concurrent testimony of nature, conscience, providence and revelation, by the blood of atonement and the sanctions of eternity. This distinction, authenticated by the seal of Deity, and in its own nature effaceless and immutable, slavery contemns, disannuls, and tramples under foot. This is its fundamental element—its vital, constituent principle—that which makes it a sin in itself, under whatever modification existing. All the incidental



effects of the system flow spontaneously from this fountain head. The constant exposure of slaves to outrage, and the actual inflictions which they experience in innumerable forms, all result legitimately from this principle assumed in the theory, and embodied in the practice of slaveholding. What is that but a sin, which sinks to the level of brutes, beings ranked and registered by God a little lower than the angels—wrests from their rightful owners the legacies bequeathed them—inalienable birthright endowments exchanged for no equivalent, unsundered by volition and unforsaken by crime—breaks open the sanctuary of human rights, and makes its sacred things common plunder—driving to the shambles Jehovah's image, herded with four-footed beasts and creeping things, and bartering for vile dust the purchase of a Redeemer's blood, and the living members of his body? What is that but a sin, which derides the sanctity with which God has invested domestic relations—annihilates marriage—makes void parental authority—nullifies filial obligation—invites the violation of chastity, by denying it legal protection, thus bidding god-speed to lust as it riots at noonday, glorying in the immunities of law? What is that but a sin, which stamps as crime obedience to the command, "Search the scriptures"—repeals the law of love—abrogates the golden rule—exact labor without recompense—authorizes the forcible Sunderings of kindred, and cuts off for ever from the pursuit of happiness? What is that but a sin, which embargoes the acquisition of knowledge by the terror of penalties—eclipses intellect—stifles the native instincts of the heart—precipitates in death damps the upward aspirations of the spirit—startles its victims with present perils—peoples the future with apprehended horrors—palsies the moral sense, whelms hope in despair, and kills the soul?

2d. The influence of slavery upon slaveholders and the slave states, are an abiding sense of insecurity and dread; the press cowering under a censorship; freedom of speech struck dumb by proscription; a standing army of patrols to awe down insurrection; the mechanic arts and all vigorous enterprise crushed under an incubus; a thriftless agriculture, smiting the land with barrenness and decay; industry held up to scorn; idleness a badge of dignity; profligacy no barrier to favor; lust emboldened by impunity; concubinage encouraged by premium, the high price of the mixed race operating as a bounty upon amalgamation; prodigality, in lavishing upon the rich the plundered earnings of the poor, accounted high-souled generosity; revenge regarded as the refinement of honor; aristocracy entitled republicanism, and despotism chivalry; sympathy deadened by scenes of cruelty rendered familiar; female amiableness transformed into fury by habits of despotic sway; conscience smothered by its own unheeded monitions; manhood effeminated by loose-reined indulgence, and a pervading degeneracy of morals and manners, resulting from a state of society where power has no restraint, and the weak have none to succor.

3d. Slavery has framed and incorporated into the very structure of society, a system of antagonistic relations, fomenting jealousies between different sections, distracting our public councils with the conflict of warring interests, weakening our national energies, and imminently jeopardizing our national existence. It has desecrated our federal city, smitten with its leprosy, our national temple, turned its sacred courts into human shambles, and provided seats for them that sell men. It is at war with the genius of our government, and divides it against itself. It scoffs at our national Declaration, brands us with hypocrisy before the nations, paralyzes the power of our free institutions at home, makes them a hissing and a by-word abroad, and shouts our shame in the ears of the world.

4th. What are the blessings that slavery has conferred upon the Church, in return for its Christian baptism and its hearty welcome to the communion of the saints? It revokes the command of her Lord—"Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature."—It builds anew, and sanctifies, the heathen barrier of caste, and while her prayers and her alms traverse oceans to find heathen in the ends of the earth, it shuts up her bowels against the heathen at her own door, and of her own creation; and, as if to make the Church the derision of scoffers, it grants her special indulgence to make heathen at home for her own benefit, provided, by way of penance, she contributes a tithe of the profit for the conversion of heathen abroad. It makes her sacrifices a vain oblation, her Redeemer the minister of sin, terrible things in righteousness the answer to her prayers, and canopies the heavens above her with portents of coming judgments, which now for a long time linger not. It accounts her shepherds blameless as they traffic in the lambs of the flock, while

round about Zion, lamentation and wailing mingle with her songs, the daughters of Jerusalem weeping for their children, and refusing to be comforted because they are not.

*This is slavery*—slavery as it exists to-day, sheltered under the wings of our national eagle, republican law its protector, republican equality its advocate, republican morality its patron, freedom its body guard, the Church its city of refuge, and the sanctuary of God and the very horns of the altar its inviolable asylum.

Against this whole system, in itself and in its appendages, in its intrinsic principles and in its external relations, we do with one accord, in the name of humanity and eternal right, record our utter detestation, and enter our solemn protest. Slavery being sin, we maintain that it is the duty of all who perpetrate it, immediately to cease; in other words, that immediate emancipation is the sacred right of the slaves, and the imperative duty of their masters.

By immediate emancipation, we do *not* mean that the slaves shall be deprived of employment, and turned loose to roam as vagabonds. We do *not* mean that they shall immediately be put in possession of *all* political privileges, any more than foreigners before naturalization, or native citizens not qualified to vote; nor that they shall be expelled from their native country as the price and condition of their freedom. But we do mean that, instead of being under the unlimited control of a few irresponsible masters, they shall receive the protection of law; that they shall be employed as free laborers, fairly compensated and protected in their earnings; that they shall have secured to them the right to obtain secular and religious knowledge, and to worship God according to his word.

We maintain that the slaves belong to themselves; that they have a right to their own bodies and minds, and to their own earnings; that husbands have a right to their wives, and wives to their husbands; that parents have a right to their children, and children to their parents; and that he who plunders them of these rights commits high-handed robbery, and is sacredly bound at once and utterly to cease.

We maintain that every master ought immediately to stop buying and selling men, women and children—immediately to stop holding and using them as property—immediately to stop robbing them of inalienable rights which they have never forfeited. In a word, we say to the master, it is your duty to emancipate your slave immediately, that is, to stop taking away from the slave those things which belong to him, and to leave him unmolested in the possession of his body and soul, his earnings, his wife and his children, as you are in the possession of your body and soul, your earnings, your wife and children.

#### PLAN OF OPERATION.

We shall seek to effect the destruction of slavery, not by exciting discontent in the minds of the slaves, not by instigating outrage, not by the physical force of the free states, not by the interference of congress with state rights; but we shall seek to effect its overthrow by ceaseless proclamation of the truth upon the whole subject—by urging upon slaveholders, and the entire community, the flagrant enormity of slavery as a sin against God and man—by demonstrating the safety of immediate emancipation to the persons and property of the masters, to the interests of the slaves and the welfare of the community—from the laws of mind, the history of emancipation, and the indissoluble connexion between duty and safety—by presenting facts, arguments, and the results of experiment, establishing the superiority of free over slave labor, and the pecuniary advantages of emancipation to the master—by correcting the public sentiment of the free states, which now sustains and sanctions the system—by concentrating its rectified power upon the conscience of the slaveholder—by promoting the observance of the monthly concert of prayer for the abolition of slavery throughout the world, that by a union of faith and works, we may bring our tithes into the storehouse, and prove therewith the "God of the oppressed."

ROBERT STEWART,  
WILLIAM KEYS,  
NATHAN GALBRAITH,

ELIEUR WRIGHT, JR.  
LEVI WHIFFLE,  
WILLIAM DICKEY,

Committee.

## ROBERT J. BRECKENRIDGE.

What, then, is slavery? for the question relates to the action of certain principles on it, and to its probable and proper results; what is slavery as it exists among us? We reply, it is that condition enforced by the laws of one-half the states of this confederacy, in which one portion of the community, called masters, is allowed such power over another portion called slaves; as,

1. To deprive them of the entire earnings of their own labor, except only so much as is necessary to continue labor itself, by continuing healthy existence, thus committing clear robbery;

2. To reduce them to the necessity of universal concubinage, by denying to them the civil rights of marriage; thus breaking up the dearest relations of life, and encouraging universal prostitution;

3. To deprive them of the means and opportunities of moral and intellectual culture, in many states making it a high penal offence to teach them to read; thus perpetuating whatever of evil there is that proceeds from ignorance;

4. To set up between parents and their children an authority higher than the impulse of nature and the laws of God; which breaks up the authority of the father over his own offspring, and at pleasure separates the mother at a returnless distance from her child; thus abrogating the clearest laws of nature: thus outraging all decency and justice, and degrading and oppressing thousands upon thousands of beings created like themselves in the image of the Most High God.

This is slavery as it is daily exhibited in every slave state. This is that "dreadful but unavoidable necessity," for which you may hear so many mouths uttering excuses, in all parts of the land. And is it really so? If indeed it be; if that "necessity" which tolerates this condition be really "unavoidable," in any such sense, that we are constrained for one moment, to put off the course of conduct which shall most certainly and most effectually subvert a system which is utterly indefensible on every correct human principle, and utterly abhorrent from every law of God,—then, indeed, let ICHABOD be graven in letters of terrific light upon our country! For God can no more sanction such perpetual wrong, than he can cease to be faithful to his own throne.

He who is higher than the highest, will, in His own good time and way, break the rod of the oppressor and let all the oppressed go free. He has indeed commanded servants to be obedient to their masters; and it is their bounden duty to be so. We ask not now, what the servants were, nor who the masters were. It is enough that all masters are commanded to "give unto their servants that which is just and equal," and to what feature of slavery may that description apply? Just and equal! what care I, whether my pockets are picked, or the proceeds of my labor are taken from me? What matters it whether my horse is stolen, or the value of him in my labor be taken

from me? Do we talk of violating the rights of masters, and depriving them of their property in their slaves? And will some one tell us, if there be any thing in which a man has, or can have, so perfect a right of property, as in his own limbs, bones, and sinews? Out upon such folly! The man who cannot see that involuntary domestic slavery, as it exists among us, is founded upon the principle of taking by force that which is another's, has simply no moral sense.

We utter but the common sentiment of mankind when we say, none ever continue slaves a moment after they are conscious of their ability to retrieve their freedom. The constant tendency for fifty years has been to accumulate the black population upon the southern states; already in some of them the blacks exceed the whites, and in most of them increased above the increase of the whites in the same states, with a ratio that is absolutely startling; [the annual increase in the United States is sixty thousand;] the slave population could bring into action a larger proportion of efficient men, perfectly inured to hardships, to the climate, and privations, than any other population in the world; and they have in distant sections, and on various occasions, manifested already a desperate purpose to shake off the yoke. In such an event we ask not any heart to decide where would human sympathy and earthly glory stand; we ask not in the fearful words of Jefferson, what attribute of Jehovah would allow him to take part with us; we ask only—and the answer settles the argument—which is like to be the stronger side?

Nature, and reason, and religion unite in their hostility to this system of folly and crime. How it will end, time only can reveal: but the light of heaven is not clearer than that it must end.—*African Repository*, Jan. 1834.

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### FRANCIS WAYLAND.

Its effects must be disastrous upon the morals of both parties. By presenting objects on whom passion can be satisfied without resistance and without redress, it cultivates in the master, pride, anger, cruelty, selfishness, and licentiousness. By accustoming the slave to subject his moral principles to the will of another, it tends to abolish in him all moral distinction, and thus fosters in him, lying, deceit, hypocrisy, dishonesty, and a willingness to yield himself up to minister to the appetite of his master.—*Moral Science*.

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### ALONZO POTTER.

Brethren, if God so loved us, we ought also to love one another. This is the argument on which I would rely, in asking your charity this evening. The neglected and ill-fated race for whom I plead,

are brethren with us of one family. The hand of the Creator may have imprinted on their features, a hue and complexion less delicate than ours. Man's rapacity may have torn them from their native land, and reduced them to the condition of slaves and menials here. And weighed down by oppression, bereft of hope, and having none to care for their souls, they may, too often, have sunk into vice and debasement. But, my friends, standing in this holy place—in his immediate presence, who has made of one blood all the nations of the earth, and given his Son to be a ransom for the inhabitants of every one alike; I can listen to no such facts as an excuse for apathy or avarice. If this unfortunate people have a physical nature less perfect than ours, God forbid that this, their misfortune, should be imputed to them as their crime. Still they have all the attributes of men—"the same organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions. They are fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapons, subject to the same diseases, warmed and cooled by the same winter and summer," that the white man is. And if degraded or depraved, as is so often alleged in extenuation of our neglect, ought that to deprive them of our commiseration? Such reasoning might have befitted the lips of the haughty pharisee; it might well have comported with his character to say to the poor publican, stand off, for I am holier than thou! to boast even in the temple his fancied superiority, and to shut up the bowels of his compassion from him. But in their mouths who profess to be disciples of a Saviour, who was emphatically the *friend of sinners*—who went about doing good, especially to the forsaken and the guilty, how must such an argument seem? And how, above all, would it seem if we were standing before Christ in judgment? Yes; what would be his reply, if when this same Saviour says, "I was naked and ye clothed me not, sick and in prison and ye visited me not,"—we were to answer, "when saw we thee naked, or sick, or in prison, and ministered not to thee?" We could not discern thy form in the person of a poor, degraded negro. We could not sympathise with thy wants, disguised as they were beneath a sable skin, and an out-cast life. Oh! at such a plea, how would that eye which once "melted with pity over doomed Salem," kindle with wrath, and that bosom which gave its last thoughts to his murderers, and spent its last strength in a prayer for their forgiveness, how would it swell with righteous indignation?—*Discourse before the African School Society, Schenectady N. Y.*

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### WILLIAM E. CHANNING.

Slavery strips man of the fundamental right to inquire into, consult, and seek his own happiness. His powers belong to another, and for another they must be used. He must form no plans, engage in no enterprises, for bettering his condition. Whatever be his capacities, however equal to great improvements of his lot, he is chained for life

by another's will to the same unvaried toil. He is forbidden to do for himself or others the work, for which God stamped him with his own image, and endowed him with his own best gifts. Again, the slave is stripped of the right to acquire property. Being himself owned, his earnings belong to another. He can possess nothing but by favor. That right on which the development of men's powers so much depends, the right to make accumulations, to gain exclusive possessions by honest industry, is withheld. "The slave can acquire nothing," says one of the slave-codes, "but what must belong to his master;" and however this definition, which moves the indignation of the free, may be mitigated by favor, the spirit of it enters into the very essence of slavery. Again, the slave is stripped of his right to his wife and children. They belong to another, and may be torn from him, one and all, at any moment, at his master's pleasure. Again, the slave is stripped of the right to the culture of his rational powers. He is in some cases deprived by law of instruction, which is placed within his reach by the improvements of society and the philanthropy of the age. He is not allowed to toil, that his children may enjoy a better education than himself. The most sacred right of human nature, that of developing his best faculties, is denied. Even should it be granted, it would be conceded as a favor, and might at any moment be withheld by the capricious will of another. Again, the slave is deprived of the right of self-defence. No injury from a white man is he suffered to repel, nor can he seek redress from the laws of his country. If accumulated insult and wrong provoke him to the slightest retaliation, this effort for self-protection, allowed and commended to others, is a crime for which he must pay a fearful penalty. Again, the slave is stripped of the right to be exempted from all harm except for wrong-doing. He is subjected to the lash, by those whom he has never consented to serve, and whose claim to him as property we have seen to be an usurpation; and this power of punishment, which, if justly claimed, should be exercised with a fearful care, is often delegated to men in whose hands there is a moral certainty of its abuse.

With the free we are to plead his cause. And this is peculiarly our duty, because we have bound ourselves to resist his efforts for his own emancipation. We suffer him to do nothing for himself. The more, then, should be done for him. Our physical power is pledged against him in case of revolt. Then our moral power should be exerted for his relief. His weakness, which we increase, gives him a claim to the only aid we can afford, to our moral sympathy, to the free and faithful exposition of his wrongs. As men, as Christians, as citizens, we have duties to the slave, as well as to every other member of the community. On this point we have no liberty. The eternal law binds us to take the side of the injured; and this law is peculiarly obligatory, when we forbid him to lift an arm in his own defence.

Let it not be said that we can do nothing for the slave. We can do much. We have a power mightier than armies, the power of

truth, of principle, of virtue, of right, of religion, of love. We have a power, which is growing with every advance of civilization, before which the slave-trade has fallen, which is mitigating the sternest despotisms, which is spreading education through all ranks of society, which is bearing Christianity to the ends of the earth, which carries in itself the pledge of destruction to every institution which debases humanity. Who can measure the power of Christian philanthropy, of enlightened goodness, pouring itself forth in prayers and persuasions, from the press and pulpit, from the lips and hearts of devoted men, and more and more binding together the wise and good in the cause of their race? All other powers may fail. This must triumph. It is leagued with God's omnipotence.

I am aware that it will be replied to the views now given of slavery, that persons living at a distance from it cannot comprehend it, that its true character can be learned only from those, who know it practically, and are familiar with its operations. To this I will not reply, that I have seen it near at hand. It is sufficient to reply, that men may lose the power of seeing an object fairly, by being too near as well as by being too remote. The slaveholder is too familiar with slavery to understand it. To be educated in injustice, is almost necessarily to be blinded by it more or less. To exercise usurped power from birth, is the surest way to look upon it as a right and a good. The slaveholder tells us that he only can instruct us about slavery. But suppose that we wished to learn the true character of despotism; should we go to the palace and take the despot as our teacher? Should we pay much heed to his assurance, that he alone could understand the character of absolute power, and that we in a republic could know nothing of the condition of men subjected to irresponsible will?

No man who seriously considers what human nature is, and what it was made for, can think of setting up a claim to a fellow-creature. What! own a spiritual being, a being made to know and adore God, and who is to outlive the sun and stars! What, chain to our lowest uses a being made for truth and virtue! Convert into a brute instrument that intelligent nature, on which the idea of duty has dawned, and which is a nobler type of God than all outward creation! Should we not deem it a wrong which no punishment could expiate, were one of our children seized as property, and driven by the whip to toil? And shall God's child, dearer to him than an only son to a human parent, be thus degraded? Every thing else may be owned in the universe; but a moral rational being cannot be property. Suns and stars may be owned, but not the lowest spirit. Touch any thing but this. Lay not your hand on God's rational offspring. The whole spiritual world cries out, Forbear! The highest intelligences recognise their own nature, their own rights, in the humblest human being. By that priceless, immortal spirit which dwells in him, by that likeness of God which he wears, tread him not in the dust, confound him not with the brute.

A human being cannot rightfully be held and used as property.

No legislation, not that of all countries or worlds, could make him so. Let this be laid down, as a first, fundamental truth. Let us hold it fast, as a most sacred, precious truth. Let us hold it fast against all customs, all laws, all rank, wealth, and power. Let it be armed with the whole authority of the civilized and Christian world.

I have taken it for granted that no reader would be so wanting in moral discrimination and moral feeling, as to urge that men may rightfully be seized and held as property, because various governments have so ordained. What! is human legislation the measure of right? Are God's laws to be repealed by man's? Can government do no wrong? What is the history of human governments but a record of wrongs? How much does the progress of civilization consist in the substitution of just and humane, for barbarous and oppressive laws? Government, indeed, has ordained slavery, and to government the individual is in no case to offer resistance. But criminal legislation ought to be freely and earnestly exposed. Injustice is never so terrible, and never so corrupting, as when armed with the sanctions of law. The authority of government, instead of being a reason for silence under wrongs, is a reason for protesting against wrong with the undivided energy of argument, entreaty, and solemn admonition.

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There is, however, there must be, in slaveholding communities a large class which cannot be too severely condemned. There are many we fear, very many, who hold their fellow-creatures in bondage, from selfish, base motives. They hold the slave for gain, whether justly or unjustly they neither ask nor care. They cling to him as property, and have no faith in the principles which will diminish a man's wealth. They hold him, not for his own good or the safety of the state, but with precisely the same views with which they hold a laboring horse, that is, for the profit which they can wring from him. They will not hear a word of his wrongs; for, wronged or not, they will not let him go. He is their property, and they mean not to be poor for righteousness' sake. Such a class there undoubtedly is among slaveholders; how large their own consciences must determine. We are sure of it; for under such circumstances human nature will and must come to this mournful result. Now, to men of this spirit, the explanations we have made do in no degree apply. Such men ought to tremble before the rebukes of outraged humanity and indignant virtue. Slavery, upheld for gain, is a great crime. He, who has nothing to urge against emancipation, but that it will make him poorer, is bound to immediate emancipation. He has no excuse for wresting from his brethren their rights. The plea of benefit to the slave and the state avails him nothing. He extorts, by the lash, that labor to which he has no claim, through a base selfishness. Every morsel of food, thus forced from the injured, ought to be bitterer than gall. His gold is cankered. The sweat of the slave taints the luxuries for which it streams. Better were it for the selfish wrong doer of whom I speak, to live as the slave, to clothe himself in the slave's raiment, to eat the slave's coarse food, to till



his fields with his own hands, than to pamper himself by day, and pillow his head on down at night, at the cost of a wantonly injured fellow-creature.

I know it will be said, "You would make us poor." Be poor, then, and thank God for your honest poverty. Better be poor than unjust. Better beg than steal. Better live in an almshouse, better die than trample on a fellow-creature and reduce him to a brute, for selfish gratification. What! have we yet to learn that "it profits us nothing to gain the whole world, and lose our souls?"

Let it not be replied, in scorn, that we of the North, notorious for love of money, and given to selfish calculations, are not the people to call others to resign their wealth. I have no desire to shield the North. We have, without doubt, a great multitude, who, were they slaveholders, would sooner die than relax their iron grasp, than yield their property in men to justice and the commands of God. We have those who would fight against abolition, if by this measure the profit of their intercourse with the South should be materially impaired. The present excitement among us is, in part, the working of mercenary principles. But because the North joins hands with the South, shall iniquity go unpunished or unrebuked? Can the league of the wicked, the revolt of worlds, repeal the everlasting law of heaven and earth? Has God's throne fallen before Mammon's? Must duty find no voice, no organ, because corruption is universally diffused? Is not this a fresh motive to solemn warning, that, everywhere northward and southward, the rights of human beings are held so cheap, in comparison with worldly gain?

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### JAMES G. BIRNEY.

I. It would, in my judgment, produce great effect on the slaveholders, to promulgate at the North, the doctrine, that it is their duty immediately to emancipate their slaves. Many of them, doubtless, would be deaf to this admonition of Christian friendship, and repel it as officious and intermeddling; but I believe it would find access to the *best* consciences of the South, and that its tendency would be, still further to arouse consciences that are already a good deal agitated.

II. The most effectual mode of preserving tranquillity among the slaves of the South will be, a knowledge of the fact, that efforts of a *peaceful and Christian* character are making in their behalf. Just in proportion as *such* efforts are urged, and give hope to the slaves, that the time of their deliverance draws nigh, will be their patient continuance in their present state—lest an act of indiscretion, in them defeat what has been already gained, mortify and disappoint their friends, and discourage them from making renewed exertions. I doubt not that the tranquillity of the British West Indies, so far as it was preserved for the last ten years, was secured by the influence of the philanthropists in the mother country. The slaves with whom I

have conversed on the subject of the present efforts have, without exception, looked upon their sober and peaceful demeanor as an essential contribution on their parts to their success.

III. I consider all schemes of gradual emancipation as utterly unfit to meet the present evils, and to avert the dangers which threaten from the continued existence of slavery. They are all, in the first place, inoperative on the *master*—they let go his conscience, by not insisting on immediate repentance for present sin. In the second place, they produce no good effect on the heart and mind of the *slave*. Founded on expediency, or policy, as all such plans must be from their very nature, the slave will feel no respect for the motive which originates them. He will consider that nothing has been done from a regard to *his* rights or *his* interests, but all for the advantage and benefit of the master. The master, uninfluenced by Christian principle in the act of emancipation, would not, in all probability, follow his *freedman* with Christian effort for his moral and intellectual improvement—the freedman feeling no respect for the motives of the master in giving him his liberty, would naturally, as it appears to me, reject his influence. Thus they would be left unbound by any tie that would lead to continued kindness on the one side, and respect and grateful recollections on the other. Any plan of emancipation, however gradual it might be, would be better than perpetual slavery; but surely it is the great desideratum of any plan, that it leave the parties *friends*, as *freemen*. None will effect this which is not founded on Christian principle—and there can be none, so far as I am enabled to see, which so fully recognises Christian principle as its basis, as that which urges *immediate emancipation*.

IV. There would be no danger of personal violence to the master from emancipation, brought about by Christian benevolence. Such an apprehension is the refuge of conscious guilt. Emancipation, brought about on the principle above mentioned, I hesitate not to say, would, in most instances, where the superior intelligence of the master was acknowledged, produce on the part of the beneficiaries, the most entire and cordial reliance on his counsel and friendship. I do not believe that I have any warmer friends than my manumitted slaves—none, I am sure, if sacrifices were called for, who would more freely make them, to promote my happiness.

The injustice which the *slave* feels as done him in taking the avails of his labor, leads him to take clandestinely, what he persuades himself he is entitled to. He has comparatively no character to lose, no ultimate object, for the attainment of which, the building up of a good character would contribute. As a freeman, *character* would be essential to him—his earnings would be his; his house, his furniture, his comforts would be his—his wife, his children would be his; the apprehension of forcible separation would depart, and he would have every motive that ordinarily influences men to build up a good name for worth and honesty. The depredations on the masters' property by *slaves*, I should suppose, are tenfold what they would be by the same slaves made freemen.

V. The slaves, if emancipated on any terms, would be able to provide for themselves and their families. If they should be *kindly* treated by their former masters, and Christian benevolence should make the same efforts for their improvement, that are made in many places for the improvement of the distant heathen—they would not only provide for themselves, but with such opportunities, become good citizens. I have made frequent inquiry as to the number of paupers among the colored people of Kentucky, amounting to nearly five thousand—I have, as yet, heard of but one. I think it is a rare thing, so far as I have had opportunity of observing, in slave states, to see free colored persons arraigned in courts, to answer to criminal accusations. My own manumitted slaves, at the end of the first year of their employment on wages, will have used but half the amount they are to receive. They have not fallen into disorderly or vagrant habits; but have manifested—at least the younger ones—an increased desire for knowledge, and for attendance on the Sabbath schools, and the common ministrations of the sanctuary. To delay emancipation, in order to attain the greatest good it is believed will result from it, is, in my judgment, but to accumulate the difficulties now in the way, and to delay to a remoter period its full consummation.

VI. Having emancipated my slaves from a full conviction, that the bondage in which I was holding them was *sinful*, I conceive I have no greater right to ask for *compensation* from any quarter, than I would have in any other case, where a similar conviction would lead me to return to my neighbor any property to which he had an unquestionable right, and which I by superior power had withheld from him. The claim of “compensation,” it seems to me, can be fairly sustained only on the ground, that slaveholding is not sinful. Would not the Ephesian converts, who at once abandoned their “curious arts,” and burned the “books” which contained instructions in them, have been as equitably entitled to compensation as the slaveholder, who abandons a *property* equally condemned by God’s law, and commits to the flames the charter by which he has hitherto supported his groundless claims?

VII. It has been my opinion, from the best and most impartial observation I could make, that the principles, measures, and doctrines entertained, pursued and inculcated by the advocates of “colonization,” so far from having any “visible influence upon the system of slavery” for its removal, have rather tended to confirm and strengthen it. These propositions—that slavery may be innocently continued till the slaves can be removed and comfortably provided for in Africa—the danger to the colony, of removing many to it very soon—its slow growth, the great comparative increase of the slave population—have removed each particular slaveholder’s duty so far in advance of him, that in the distant haze, it becomes scarcely a discernible point. Beside this, it has tended in a great degree, as I believe, to raise up and strengthen prejudice against the free colored people of our country. The whites, who are under the influence of this prejudice, think the free colored people ought to remove from the country

of their birth, because *they* (the whites) wish it, and not because it is a desirable thing to *those who are called upon to act*.

I have thus answered, much more briefly, however, than I would under other circumstances, your several inquiries. I trust what I have done may contribute somewhat to the advancement of the great cause of humanity in which so many Christian heads and hearts are now so deeply interested. But have not you, and the particular Church of which you are members, long since purified yourselves from all participation in the sin of slavholding? To your honor be it said, you were the first to cleanse your skirts from this foul stain. But is there nothing more for you to do? Will you, who can speak as having authority, in no wise rebuke your neighbor, but suffer sin to be upon him? Will you, who, having purified yourselves, and are, therefore, unrebukable, sit quietly by, clothed in the heavenly armor of innocence, and behold undisturbed a system shooting up into giant size, and acquiring giant power for destruction—for destruction not only of its victims, but of those who lead the victims to its bloody altars? May I not persuade myself you will not?—*Reply to Queries of some Friends*, 1835.

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### JAMES T. WOODBURY.

We can vote slavery down in Columbia and in our territories. "But," it is objected, "it will dissolve the Union." Mr. Birney says, the South never will do it, for they cannot support themselves, and we are more liable to go there and fight, to keep their slaves in subjection. The slaves, if they are freed, will not come here, their labor is wanted in the South. The South do not hate the black skin with which God has covered them, as we do. "But O they smell bad." No bad smell while they are slaves; they are about the persons of their masters and mistresses, and nurse their children, and do not scent them with the bad smell,—but as soon as they are free—bad smell.

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### "GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION."

Much has been said by the advocates and apologists of slavery, about the *danger* of emancipation—that it would be accompanied or followed by insurrections, massacres, and servile war. Now no sane man desires to *turn loose* upon society, a horde of ignorant men, either white or black, without the salutary restraints of *law*. We wish to see the *assumed* right of property in human flesh abolished, and the laws made for the *protection*, as well as for the government and restraint, of every man of every nation and color. To place every man under the protection of the law, and to abolish that licentiousness and tyranny which are now tolerated, would be to restore society to

its natural order, and give every man an interest in the preservation of the peace and harmony of the community. All fear of hostility and temptations to excite insurrections, or to shed the blood of the white men, would be banished with the removal of the cause which produce them. In all cases where the experiment has been tried, [in the West Indian Islands,] our reasoning from the nature of man, and the influence which just treatment will always exert on his moral character, has been proved by incontestable facts.—*Evam Lewis.*

### PUBLIC LEDGER.

An impressive lesson is taught to the people of the United States, by the abortive attempts of the French to become free. This lesson is that without republican organization throughout all branches of society, constitutions are of very little use; that such organization does not necessarily flow from free constitutions, but that free constitutions to endure and be practically useful, must flow from such organization. What then is the conclusion to which every reflecting American will come? That this organization is to be maintained as the very foundation of his liberties.

Is this organization in danger? We regret the necessity which proclaims us to answer in the affirmative. A few years since, and any American citizen would have pronounced any attempt to disturb or interrupt a public meeting, an act of high treason against his liberties. What is the case now? Such disturbances are of daily occurrence, and all deliberation is at the mercy of disorderly mobs. This is a subject for grave reflection, and we invite to it the serious consideration of every republican. The consequences are not limited to the interruption of the meeting disturbed. They strike deeper. They endanger our whole system. They lead to despotism.—*Philadelphia, 1837.*

### WILLIAM LEGGETT.

The whole matter resolves itself into this plain alternative, "Either the northern states must give up the right of free discussion, or they must give up the federal compact." When the choice has really to be made between the two evils, we will not so disparage the free spirit of the people of this portion of the confederacy, as to suppose it possible they can hesitate for a moment, in making their selection. It was "to secure the blessings of liberty" we confederated; and we would rend the compact which holds the states together into a thousand pieces, and scatter them to all the carrion kites, before we would seek to preserve it for a single instant at the expense of that best privilege of freemen—the unlimited right of speech and of the press.

The southern people very much mistake the temper of those of the North, if they suppose they can either be driven by menaces, or won by entreaties, to relinquish, or restrain by legal prohibitions, the sacred right of a free interchange of opinion on any subject which may seem to them deserving of discussion. We have elsewhere, in this number of our paper, expressed our conviction of the instant prostration, never to rise again, which any administration, in any of the northern states, would certainly experience, that should dare so to outrage the common sentiment of liberty, as to propose a law to abridge the freedom of speech. The southern slaveholders may rely upon it this view of the subject is correct. There is no possible chance of their coercing or inducing, by any threat or argument they can present, a single state north of the Potomac, to adopt the only alternative they offer for preserving the federal union.

The opinions of the southern people themselves, with respect to the perfect right which every American citizen possesses, to discuss the subject of slavery, have undergone a world-wide change in the course of a few years. If they will look into the writings of Jefferson and Madison, they will find that those great men, though southerners and slaveholders, not only did not claim any such right of interdicting the subject as is now set up, but exercised it very freely themselves. If they will turn to the record of the debate which took place in congress in 1790, on the question of committing the memorial of the *Society of Friends* against the slave-trade, they will find that Mr. Madison explained the obligations of the federal compact, in a very different manner from that which it is the fashion of the present day to interpret them. They will find that, in the review which he catered into of the circumstances connected with the adoption of the constitution, he very clearly showed that the powers of congress were by no means as limited as it is now contended that they are. They will find that, in speaking of the territories of the United States, he expressly declared, from his knowledge, as well of the sentiments and opinions of the members of the convention, as of the true meaning and force of the terms of the compact, that there "congress have certainly the power to regulate the subject of slavery." It is fortunate that Madison and Jefferson did not live to this day, or they would have been denounced as abolitionists, fanatics, and incendiaries, and every thing else that is bad. Lieutenant Governor Robinson would no doubt have honored them with a place in his message, as ring-leaders of his "organized band of conspirators."

But though Madison and Jefferson are gone, the spirit which animated them still glows in many a freeman's bosom; and while one spark of it remains, the South will storm and rave in vain, for it never can induce the northern states to give up freedom for the sake of union; to give up the end for the sake of the means; to give up the substance for the sake of the shadow.—*The Plaindealer.*

## FLORIDA.

The Hon. Timothy Pitkir of Connecticut, said, the slaves in Georgia, while Florida was owned by Spain, were in the habit of running away to Florida, and their masters could not recover them—that in consequence, hundreds and hundreds of letters were written to the President, urging him to purchase Florida, that it **MUST** be bought at **ALL EVENTS**—and that in consequence of this, the matter was discussed in congress **IN SECRET SESSION**, and the result was a vote to purchase that territory. —*Conversation with A. A. Phelps.*

[Florida was then bought, it seems, just to protect the slavery of Georgia.]

## MR. PEYTON OF TENNESSEE.

Why, sir, those speculators, or rather Indian robbers, would find an old chief upon his patrimonial estate, where the chiefs and kings of his race had lived for centuries before him, with his slaves and his farm around him, smoking his pipe amidst his own forest trees, spurning any offer to purchase his home; and they would bribe some vagabond Indian to personate him, in a trade to sell his land, forging his name, and the first intimation that he would have of the transaction would be his expulsion by force from his home! This was common; and not only so, but, under the pretext of reclaiming fugitive slaves, the wives and children (of mixed blood) of the Indians were seized and carried off into bondage. The famous Oseola himself had his wife taken from him, and that too, it has been said, by a *government officer*, and was chained by this officer to a log. Sir, what else could be expected but that these scourged, plundered, starving savages, would glut their vengeance by the indiscriminate slaughter of the innocent and helpless families of the frontier, whose blood has cried to us in vain? This has caused the Florida war.—*Speech in Congress, 1837.*

"HAIL COLUMBIA! HAPPY LAND!!!"



## AUTHENTIC ANECDOTES OF UNITED STATES' SLAVERY.

"A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit. Wherefore by their fruits ye shall know them."

JAMES H. DICKEY.

In the summer of 1822, as I returned with my family from a visit to the Barrans of Kentucky, I witnessed a scene such as I never witnessed before, and such as I hope never to witness again. Having passed through Paris, in Bourbon county, Ky., the sound of music (beyond a little rising ground) attracted my attention; I looked forward and saw the flag of my country waving. Supposing that I was about to meet a military parade, I drove hastily to the side of the road; and having gained the top of the ascent, I discovered (I suppose) about forty black men all chained together after the following manner; each of them was handcuffed, and they were arranged in rank and file. A chain, perhaps forty feet long, the size of a fifth-horse-chain, was stretched between the two ranks, to which short chains were joined, which connected with the handcuffs. Behind them were, I suppose, about thirty women in double rank, the couples tied hand to hand. A solemn sadness sat on every countenance, and the dismal silence of this march of despair was interrupted only by the sound of two violins; yes, as if to add insult to injury, the foremost couple were furnished with a violin apiece; the second couple were ornamented with cockades, while near the centre waved the republican flag carried by a hand *literally in chains*. I perhaps have mistaken some punctilios of the arrangement, for "my soul was sick," my feelings were mingled and pungent. As a man, I sympathized with suffering humanity; as a Christian, I mourned over the transgressions of God's holy law; and as a *republican*, I felt indignant to see the flag of my beloved country thus insulted. I could not forbear exclaiming to the



lordly driver who rode at his ease along side: "Heaven will curse that man who engages in such traffic, and the government that protects him in it." I pursued my journey till evening, and put up for the night. When I mentioned the scene I had witnessed, "Ah!" cried my landlady, "That is my brother." From her I learned that his name is Stone, of Bourbon county, Kentucky, in partnership with one Kinningsham, of Paris; and that a few days before he had purchased a negro woman from a man in Nicholas county; she refused to go with him; he attempted to compel her, but she defended herself. Without further ceremony, he stepped back, and by a blow on the side of her head with the butt of his whip brought her to the ground; he tied her, and drove her off. I learned further, that besides the drove I had seen, there were about thirty shut up in the Paris prison for safe-keeping, to be added to the company; and that they were designed for the Orleans market. And to this they are doomed, for no other crime than that of a black skin and curled locks.

Alas, what wish can prosper, or what prayer,  
For merchants rich in cargoes of despair!  
Who drive a loathsome traffic, guage and span,  
And buy the muscles and the bones of man.—COWPER.

Shall not I visit for these things, saith the Lord? shall not my soul be avenged on such a nation as this?

## GEORGE WHITFIELD.

As I lately passed through your provinces in my way hither, I was sensibly touched with a fellow-feeling for the miseries of the poor negroes. Whether it be lawful for Christians to buy slaves, and thereby encourage the nations from whom they are bought to be at perpetual war with each other, I shall not take upon me to determine. Sure I am it is sinful, when they have bought them, to use them as bad as though they were brutes, nay worse; and whatever particular exceptions there may be (as I would charitably hope there are some) I fear the generality of you, who own negroes, are liable to such a charge; for your slaves, I believe, work as hard, if not harder than the horses whereon you ride. These, after they have done their work, are fed and taken proper care of; but many negroes when wearied with labor in your plantations, have been obliged to grind their corn after their return home. Your dogs are caressed and fondled at your table; but your slaves, who are frequently styled dogs or beasts, have not an equal privilege. They are scarce permitted to pick up the crumbs which fall from their master's table. Not to mention what numbers have been given up to the inhuman usage of cruel taskmasters who, by their unrelenting scourges have ploughed their backs, and made long furrows, and at length brought them even unto death. When passing along I have viewed your plantations cleared and cultivated, many spacious houses built, and the owners of them faring sumptuously every day, my blood has frequently almost run cold within me, to consider how many of your slaves had neither convenient food to eat nor proper raiment to put on, notwithstanding most of the comforts you enjoy were solely owing to their indefatigable labors.—*Letter to the inhabitants of Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, 1739.*

## JOHN RANKIN.

Often are the slaves driven through frost and snow without either stocking or shoe until the path they tread is dyed with the blood that issues from their frost-worn limbs! And when they return to their miserable huts at night they find not there the means of comfortable rest; but on the cold ground they must lie without covering, and shiver while they slumber.

In connexion with their extreme sufferings occasioned by want of clothing, I

shall notice those which arise from the want of food. As the making of grain is the main object of their mancipation, masters will sacrifice as little as possible in giving them food. It often happens that what will barely keep them alive, is all that a cruel avarice will allow them. Hence, in some instances, their allowance has been reduced to a single pint of corn each during the day and night. And in some places the best allowance is a peck of corn each during the week, while perhaps they are not permitted to taste meat so much as once in the course of seven years, except what little they may be able to steal! Thousands of them are pressed with the gnawings of cruel hunger during their whole lives—an insatiable avarice will not grant them a single comfortable meal to satisfy the cravings of nature! Such cruelty far exceeds the powers of description!

Alas, poor hapless slaves are doom'd to toll,  
With naked limbs, beneath the direful rage  
Of fiercely burning suns, and chilling blasts  
That beat upon them with alternate strokes;  
While long years of fierce starvation onward  
Roll, with lingering pace, and the grating wheels  
Of time, that measures out the dreary span  
Of hard, servile life, scarcely seem to move,  
And the toil-worn and weatherbeaten flesh  
Longs for the peaceful, lasting sleep of death,  
And seeks a shelter in the silent grave,  
From hunger, toil, and raging elements.

You tell me that "If the poor negroes were set free, they would either starve or turn to highway robbing." But certainly their situation could not be worse than it now is with regard to starvation and robbing. Thousands of them are really starving in a state of slavery, and are under the direful necessity of stealing whatever they can find, that will satisfy the cravings of hunger; and I have little doubt but many actually starve to death. Should they starve when free, the fault would, in some measure, be their own, and should they steal they could be punished for it, in the same manner that white thieves are punished for their thefts.

The slaveholder has it in his power to violate the chastity of his slaves. And not a few are beastly enough to exercise such power. Hence it happens, that in some families it is difficult to distinguish the free children from the slaves. It is sometimes the case; that the largest part of the master's own children are born, not of his wife, but of the wives and daughters of his slaves, whom he has basely prostituted as well as enslaved. His poor slaves are his property, and, therefore, must yield to his lusts as well as to his avarice! He may perpetrate upon them the most horrid crimes, and they have no redress! The wretched slave must, without a murmuring word, give up his wife, or daughter, for prostitution, should his master be vile enough to demand her of him! It must be a horrid crime for any state to give one man such power over another, and such crime has every slaveholding state committed. I am far from wishing to intimate that this power is generally so grossly exercised as it might be. Some slaveholders are, doubtless, as chaste as any other people, and conscientiously endeavor to preserve the chastity of their slaves; but I wish to show the extent of the power with which they are vested, and the shocking manner in which it is sometimes exercised.

In addition to this, we may remark, that the proprietors of slaves have it in their power to crowd the males and females together, in such a manner as is calculated to induce criminal intercourse, and to the great disgrace of human nature this is sometimes done for the base purpose of breeding slaves for market, as though they were mere animals, and not human beings!

In this place I will further remark, that slavery not merely puts the chastity of the slave in the power of the master, but also exposes it to attacks from every lecherous class of men. Slaves cannot bear testimony against people that are white and free—hence a wide door is opened for the practice, both of violence and seduction, without detection; and the consequences of this are exceedingly manifested in every slaveholding country—every town and its vicinity soon become crowded with mulattoes. In this respect slavery is the very sink of filthiness, and the source of every hateful abomination. It seems to me astonishing that any government, much more that of the United States, should sanction such a source of monstrous crime as slavery evidently is!

Again, the proprietors of slaves may exact from them excessive labor, and thus

lay upon them an intolerable burden during life. It is well known that many masters are so avaricious that they cannot be satisfied with a reasonable quantity of labor. The manner in which these unfeeling monsters exact labor from their poor slaves may be illustrated by a single fact, the knowledge of which came to me from a respectable source, and though it appears most shocking to every humane feeling, yet I believe it can be fully attested.

A wealthy citizen of Georgia purchased, on shipboard, six African girls, who probably were directly from Africa, and having brought them home, he put them into the hands of his overseer, and ordered him to assign them a certain portion of labor during each day of the week, and in case they should fail to perform it, he was commanded to give them a considerable number of lashes each, and add the remainder of the task to the next day's labor, and in case they should fail to perform the whole, he was ordered to add to the number of lashes in proportion to the failure, and still to add the deficiency to the next day's labor, and thus he was daily to increase both the labor and stripes in case of failure. The overseer, hardhearted as he was, expostulated with him, and assured him that the labor was more than the girls were able to perform, but he swore with a tremendous oath that they should do it or die. The poor creatures commenced the dreadful task, but being unaccustomed to such labor, their hands were soon worn to the quick; they endured with patience, and did all they could to perform what was assigned them, but they were totally unable to accomplish it; they failed on the first day, and received the cruel lashes. The next morning, with sore backs and bleeding hands they attempted the enlarged task—their hoehandles were soon made red with their innocent blood—they labored with great assiduity, but they could not perform the unreasonable task, and consequently received the enlarged number of lashes. On the third morning they commenced again, but the task was so much enlarged that all hope of performing it was entirely precluded, and the enormously increased number of lashes became certain—the unhappy creatures despaired of life, and concluded that they must inevitably die under the torturing lash, unless they could despatch themselves in some other method. This appeared to be the only means of escaping the most terrible cruelty. Hence they formed and executed the dreadful design of hanging themselves. The horn blew for dinner, all started to their huts, but these unfortunate girls lingered behind, and unobserved by the rest of the company turned aside into a thicket, and there all six hanged themselves! They were soon missed, and search was quickly made for them—they were immediately found, and the cruel master, enraged by the disappointment and loss, made every possible exertion to bring them back to life, that they might again fall under the weight of his vengeance! but all his attempts were in vain—their souls were gone into an awful eternity, and had their eternal destiny unalterably fixed! And being exceedingly exasperated on finding that they had escaped from his hand, he ordered a hole to be dug for them, and caused them to be tumbled into it like mere animal carcasses, while he vented the most awful imprecations upon them! And the overseer was ordered to exact from the rest of his slaves what labor he intended them to perform.

Thus we see that a single tyrant has driven six poor, helpless females out of life by exacting from them excessive labor. And who can estimate the sum of similar cruelties that are practised upon the poor Africans, by the many thousand tyrants, who, from the slaveholding states, have literally received license for tyrannical exercise? To permit men to hold slaves is in reality the same thing as to give them license to commit cruelties, and those even of the most shocking kind. By such license, the poor African girls we have just mentioned perished, and by it thousands are daily dropping into eternity from under the grievous burdens of excessive toil. That men will work their slaves to excess, must be expected when the inordinate love of gain is the predominating principle in the whole system of involuntary slavery. This principle induces many slaveholders to employ such overseers as are destitute of humane feeling, and naturally propense to cruelty, and thus well prepared to drive poor slaves to the highest degree of excessive labor, and in some instances they are given such an interest in the pending crops as stimulates them to the greatest severity in driving the miserable creatures whom they oversee. Thus the principles of avarice and cruelty, is heaping most oppressive burdens of labor upon slaves, and that, under such circumstances, their situation is most deplorable, must be obvious to every one capable of reflection.

The same principle which induces some to place their slaves under the most merciless overseers, prompts others to take theirs to public places and let them for hire, to the highest bidders. In this way slaves often fall into the hands of the most cruel tyrants the world can produce, and consequently are most grievously oppressed by excessive labor—they must undergo whatever an insatiable avarice is pleased to lay upon them, and, like the ever yawning grave, it never says it is enough—it never compassionates the weary limbs of the poor enslaved Africans, nor proposes rest to those whom it chains down to servile life. It even drives them to the laborious task while they are sinking under the influence of mortal disease!

Those, who are unacquainted with the depravity of the human heart, may be disposed to believe it impossible that any should be so cruel as to drive their slaves to work while they are laboring under mortal disease; but it can be established by the best of testimony that slaves have been thus driven; and that almost to the moment of expiration!

A respectable gentleman, who is now a citizen of Flemingburg, Fleming county, Kentucky, was, when in the state of South Carolina, invited by a slaveholder to walk with him and take a view of his farm. He complied with the invitation thus given, and in their walk they came to the place where the slaves were at work, and found the overseer whipping one of them very severely for not keeping pace with his fellows—in vain the poor fellow alleged that he was sick, and could not work. The master seemed to think all was well enough, hence he and the gentleman passed on. In the space of an hour they returned by the same way, and found that the poor slave, who had been whipped as they passed by the field of labor, was actually dead! This I have from unquestionable authority.

Thus we see that a merciless overseer will push his hapless slave for his labor to the last moment, and follow him with the torturing lash into the very gates of eternity!

Similar cruelty has happened in Kentucky. In that state an unfeeling woman compelled a female slave to labor during the space of four days after she had received the mortal attack! Thus are the poor creatures driven while their mortal frames are able to move. And the manner in which they are often treated after they are so reduced by disease as to be no longer able to move, is equally cruel.

A respectable physician of my acquaintance and now residing in the state of Alabama, did in that state attend upon twenty slaves, who were confined by severe fevers, and that in an open pen without roof, and thus were exposed to every shower of rain that fell during the time of their sickness.

When I bring slavery near, inspect it closely, and find that it is inflicted on men and women, who possess the same nature and feelings with myself, my sensibility is immediately roused—but when I, who sustain the relations of husband and father, see a husband and father whipped severely in the presence of his wife and children, and that perhaps merely to gratify the caprice of an ill-natured master, my feelings become indignant—and when I see the mother most cruelly scourged in the presence of her husband and children, my feelings grow intolerable—my soul sickens at the sight, and my indignation almost prompts me to unlawful deeds of vengeance. But how can I quell my tumultuous passions, when in addition to all this, I see the poor little children whipped in the presence of their parents, until their little backs are literally covered with blood? Had you, my brother, to endure all these cruelties, would you not abhor the law that permitted them to be inflicted upon you? And would you not detest all the people, who, either in theory or practice, give it their sanction? Indeed, such a law must appear most detestable to every one that views it in its real nature and tendency—it sanctions the most tragical scenes of cruelty ever witnessed among men—it permits the slaveholder to bind his fellow man, strip him naked, and whip him on the bare skin, with the keenest whips that art can invent, and that just so long as the most vengeful passion may dictate, provided the life is spared! Hence many poor slaves are stripped naked, stretched and tied across barrels or large logs, and tortured with the keenest lashes, during hours and even whole days, until their flesh is mangled to the very bones. Others are stripped and hung up by the arms, their feet are tied together, and the end of a heavy piece of timber is put between their legs in order to stretch their bodies, and so prepare them for the torturing lash—and in this situation they are often whipt until their bodies are covered with blood and mangled flesh, and in

order to add the greatest bitterness to their sufferings, their wounds are washed with liquid salt. And some of the miserable creatures are permitted to hang in that position until they actually expire; some die under the lash, others linger about for some time, and at length die of their wounds, and many survive, and endure again similar torture. These bloody scenes are constantly exhibited in every slaveholding country—thousands of whips are every day stained in African blood! Even the poor females are not permitted to escape these shocking cruelties. Of this I will give you an instance.

A certain citizen of Kentucky purchased a piece of furniture, and after he brought it home, his wife unfortunately broke some small part of it, and that in the presence of a neighboring gentleman; she nevertheless charged it upon a black girl of about seventeen years of age. The girl honestly declared her innocence, but the mistress persisted in her charge against her. At length the British master seized the poor unfortunate girl, drew her clothes up over her head, banged her by them to the limb of a tree, and in that shameful position whipt her several times very severely. By the extremity of torture she was sometimes forced to say that she did break the furniture, but in the moment of respite, she would honestly deny it again—and this subjected her to more torture. Fortunately for the poor girl the gentleman who was present when the mistress broke the furniture, happened to be passing by—he paused in amazement at the shocking scene—he soon discovered the cause of the cruelty—indignation overcame him—he approached the British master and told him that his own wife had broken the furniture in his presence, and declared that if he did not cease from torturing the poor girl he would give him as much as he had given her—with this the shameless monster thought it necessary to comply, and for that time the poor girl was released from his torturing hand. The gentleman who rescued the girl and stated this fact, is now a resident of the state of Ohio, and is known to be a man of truth.

It is painful to my feelings to record such a shameful outrage upon decency and humanity; but it is necessary to do it in order to show the horrible extent of the slaveholder's power over his slaves. Every slaveholder has power to strip his female slaves, and treat them in the same disgraceful manner, and thousands of them are base enough to put such power into exercise. It really grieves me to think that any government, and much more that our own, does sanction such an abomination.

Finally, the system of slavery puts it completely in the power of the slaveholders to dismember their slaves, or even murder them at pleasure! It is true that slaveholding states have enacted laws to prohibit the proprietors of slaves from breaking their limbs or taking their lives; but what avail such laws while slaves are made the property of their masters? May not men order their property to any place to which they may wish it to go? Hence, may not the vengeful master order his slave into his kitchen, or some other secret place, and there break all his limbs, tear out his eyes, and even murder him with the most savage cruelty? Or may he not do all this, even in the open field, in the presence of a thousand other slaves, and yet escape the sentence of the law? Not one of all this thousand could be a witness against him, and perhaps not one of them would even so much as dare to mention the crime. Hence, the poor slave has no security, either for his limbs, or his life, further, than what is in the will of his master. And, alas! there is often but little there! Could you secretly attend the fields, the kitchen, and the huts, in which slaves labor and live, you would see limbs broken, skulls fractured, and even eyes torn out. And what is if possible still worse, you would see many most cruelly murdered.

A respectable young lady of my acquaintance, received a most painful shock by unexpectedly discovering one of the terrible things which are sometimes done in the kitchen. She visited the house of a certain Kentuckian, who was considered reputable. There she seemed at first to enjoy a pleasant hour in the social circle. In the parlor every thing appeared comfortable and decent—every countenance was so cheerful that one might have imagined that good nature and happiness resided in the bosom of each member of the family. But, alas! she unfortunately stepped into the kitchen. And ah! how changed was the scene! The most doleful aspect assailed her delicate eyes! There sat a poor old black woman, with one of her eyeballs hanging on her cheek! It had been torn from the socket by the hand of her mistress! How painful was the sight, and how doleful was the tale of woe! And

how little did the young visitant expect to witness such a scene! She could not conceal her feelings—she wept, and she retired with emotions of horror. This shocking cruelty was committed with impunity—no law could possibly reach the case. The tale of the poor sable sufferer would not be heard in court, and such crimes are seldom perpetrated in the presence of such as would be heard, and when they are, but few, if any, are willing to be at the expense and trouble of commencing and supporting a prosecution on the behalf of slaves. The truth is, when once a man is made the property of another, and thus put completely under his control, it is impossible to enact laws that will protect either his life or his limbs. And every attempt to punish the master for abusing the slave will but incite him to greater cruelty! The love of gain affords all the protection the poor slaves can have, and it is well known that this has but little influence on the violent passions of men—to the vicious heart revenge is gain.

In spite of all law, slaveholders have the power of life and death over their slaves. And some of them do exercise such power with perfect impunity. It is undeniable that some drive their slaves nearly naked through frost and snow until they perish with cold, some gradually starve them to death, and some cause them to expire beneath the burden of excessive toil—others whip them to death in a manner that more than equals the cruelty of the most barbarous savages, and not a few murder them with clubs, axes, and guns, or such like fatal weapons! It is undeniable, that in these several ways many slaves are murdered with the utmost impunity! It is seldom that even so much as a prosecution is incurred by murdering them; and I do not recollect of ever hearing of a single individual being executed for taking the life of his slave. I am persuaded there is as much humane feeling in Fleming county, Kentucky, as can be found in any slaveholding section of country, of the same extent, and I think this will be readily admitted by all who are acquainted with the people of that county, and yet there is a certain individual, in consequence of an unjust suspicion, fell upon his poor old slave, beat him in the face, and mashed it in such a manner as soon terminated his life, yet by it he incurred not even so much as a prosecution! I mention this case, not because it is either singular or novel, but because it happened in one of the most humane sections of one of the mildest slaveholding countries, and therefore, is well calculated to show what is the real state of things, even where slavery wears its mildest aspect. It shows clearly that the system of slavery in its best form is fraught with the most horrid murders.

I will close this part of my subject, by giving you an account of the most terrible display of slaveholding power, one that ought to make every slaveholding nation tremble, and one that must fill every humane bosom with horror! I will give it just as I received it from the pen of the Rev. William Dickey, who is well acquainted with the circumstances which he describes, and who is a man of undoubted veracity.

"In the county of Livingston, Ky., near the mouth of the Cumberland, lived Lilburn Lewis, a sister's son of the venerable Jefferson. He, who 'suckled at fair Freedom's breast,' was the wealthy owner of a considerable number of slaves, whom he drove constantly, fed sparingly, and lashed severely. The consequence was, they would run away. This must have given to a man of spirit and a man of business great anxieties until he found them, or until they had starved out and returned. Among the rest was an ill grown boy about seventeen, who having just returned from a skulking spell, was sent to the spring for water, and in returning let fall an elegant pitcher. It was dashed to shivers upon the rocks. This was the occasion. It was night, and the slaves all at home. The master had them collected into the most roomy negro house, and a rousing fire made. When the door was secured, that none might escape, either through fear of him or sympathy with George, he opened the design of the interview, namely, that they might be effectually taught to stay at home and obey his orders. All things being now in train, he called up George, who approached his master with the most unreserved submission. He bound him with cords, and by the assistance of his younger brother, laid him on a broad bench, or meat block. He now proceeded to whang off George by the ankles!! It was with the broad axe!! In vain did the unhappy victim SCREAM AND ROAR! He was completely in his master's power. Not a hand amongst so many durst interfere. Casting the feet into the fire, he lacerated them at some length. He WHACKED HIM OFF below the knees! George roaring

out, and praying his master to begin at the other end! He admonished them again, throwing the legs into the fire! Then above the knees, turning the joints into the fire! He again lectured them at leisure. The next stroke covered the thighs from the body. These were also committed to the flames. And so off the arms, head, and trunk, until all was in the fire! Still protracting the intervals with lectures, and threatenings of like punishment, in case of disobedience, and running away, or disclosure of this tragedy. Nothing now remained but to consume the flesh and bones; and for this purpose the fire was briskly stirred, until two hours after midnight, when, as though the earth would cover out of sight the nefarious scene, and as though the great Master in Heaven would put a mark of his displeasure upon such monstrous cruelty, a sudden and surprising shock of earthquake overturned the coarse and heavy back wall, composed of rock and clay, which completely covered the fire, and the remains of George.\* This put an end to the amusements of the evening. The negroes were now permitted to disperse, with charges to keep this matter among themselves, and never to whisper it in the neighborhood, under the penalty of a like punishment. When he retired, the lady exclaimed, 'Oh! Mr. Lewis, where have you been and what have you done?' She had heard a strange pounding, and dreadful screams, and had smelled something like fresh meat burning! He said that he had never enjoyed himself at a ball so well as he had enjoyed himself that evening. Next morning he ordered the negroes to rebuild the back wall, and he himself superintended the work, throwing the pieces of flesh that still remained with the bones, behind as it went up, thus hoping to conceal the matter. But it could not be hid—much as the negroes seemed to hazard, they whispered the horrid deed to the neighbors, who came and before his eyes tore down the wall, and finding the remains of the boy, they testified against him. But before the court sat, to which he was bound over, he was, by an act of suicide, with George, in the eternal world.

"Sure there are bolts, red with no common wrath, to blast the man.

"WILLIAM DICKEY.

"N. B. This happened in 1811, if I be correct, the 16th of December. It was the Sabbath!"

Though the dreadful wretch was taken up on suspicion, and bound over to court, yet, I apprehend, there was little probability of his actually falling under the sentence of the law. He might have eventually so managed the matter as to make the sentence fall upon the heads of his slaves.

This apprehension is rendered very probable by the fact that the populace actually let him out of prison, in order to screen him from justice.—*Letters on Slavery.*

## DISCUSSION IN LANE SEMINARY, FEBRUARY, 1834.

*Ought the slaveholding states to abolish slavery immediately?*

A member from Alabama, speaking of the cruelties practised upon the slaves, said—"At our house it is so common to hear their screams from a neighboring plantation, that we think nothing of it. The overseer of this plantation told me one day, he laid a young woman over a log, and beat her so severely that she was soon after delivered of a dead child. A bricklayer, a neighbor of ours, owned a very smart young negro man, who ran away; but was caught. When his master got him home, he stripped him naked, tied him up by his hands, in plain sight and hearing of the academy and the public green, so high that his feet could not touch the ground; then tied them together, and put a long board between his legs to keep him steady. After preparing him in this way, he took a paddle, bored it full of holes, and commenced beating him with it. He continued it leisurely all day. At night his flesh was literally pounded to a jelly. It was two weeks before he was able to walk. No one took any notice of it. No one thought any wrong was done."

He stated many more facts of a similar kind. It will be recollected that he was

[\* The unusual continued intense heat might cause the falling of an old frozen wall, which the ignorant negroes would of course ascribe to supernatural agency.]

attempting to give a fair *expose* of slavery. "And (said he) lest any one should think that in *general* the slaves are well treated, and these are the exceptions, let me be distinctly understood:—*Cruelty is the rule, and kindness the exception.*"

This was assented to and corroborated by all from the slaveholding states. And to show its truth, I will here introduce a few facts, as related by individuals from different parts of the country.

Mr. —, from Kentucky, who came here a colonizationist and a slaveholder, but has since turned abolitionist and emancipated his slaves, said—"Cruelties are so common, I hardly know what to relate. But one fact occurs to me just at this time that happened in the village where I live. The circumstances are these. A colored man, a slave, ran away. As he was crossing Kentucky river, a white man, who suspected him, attempted to stop him. The negro resisted. The white man procured help, and finally succeeded in securing him. He then wreaked his vengeance on him for resisting—flogging him till he was not able to walk. They then put him on a horse, and came on with him ten miles to Nicholasville. When they entered the village, it was noticed that he sat upon his horse like a drunken man. It was a very hot day; and whilst they were taking some refreshment, the negro sat down upon the ground under the shade. When they ordered him to go, he made several efforts before he could get up; and when he attempted to mount the horse, his strength was entirely insufficient. One of the men struck him, and with an oath ordered him to get on the horse without any more fuss. The negro staggered back a few steps, fell down, and died. I do not know as any notice was ever taken of it."

Mr. —, of Virginia, amongst others, related the following:—"I frequently saw the mistress of the family beat the woman who performed the kitchen work, with a stick two feet and a half long, and nearly as thick as my wrist; striking her over the head, and across the small of the back, as she was bent over at her work, with as much spito as you would a snake, and for what I should consider no offence at all. There lived in this same family a young man, a slave, who was in the habit of running away. He returned one time after a week's absence. The master took him into the barn, stripped him entirely naked, tied him up by his hands so high that he could not reach the floor, tied his feet together, and put a small rail between his legs, so that he could not avoid the blows, and commenced whipping him. He told me that he gave him five hundred lashes. At any rate, he was covered with wounds from head to foot. Not a place as big as my hand but what was cut. Such things as these are perfectly common all over Virginia; at least so far as I am acquainted. Generally, planters avoid punishing their slaves before strangers."

Mr. —, of Missouri, amongst others, related the following:—"A young woman who was generally very badly treated, after receiving a more severe whipping than usual, ran away. In a few days she came back, and was sent into the field to work. At this time, the garment next her skin was stiff like a scab, from the running of the sores made by the whipping. Towards night, she told her master that she was sick, and wished to go to the house. She went; and as soon as she reached it, laid down on the floor exhausted. The mistress asked her what the matter was? She made no reply. She asked again; but received no answer. 'I'll see,' said she, 'if I can't make you speak.' So taking the tongs, she heated them red hot, and put them upon the bottoms of her feet; then upon her legs and body; and, finally, in a rage, took hold of her throat. This had the desired effect. The poor girl faintly whispered, 'Oh, misses, don't—I am most gone;' and expired."

We want no other commentary on the state of feeling in that community than this. The woman yet lives there, and owns slaves.

I am aware that it will be said, this is not a fair picture of slavery. But, sir, if I can judge from the conversation of gentlemen who have lived and been brought up amongst it, or from the testimony of respectable emancipated negroes, I know the picture has never yet been presented to the public, in all its ugliness. Such facts as these are as common to them as household affairs; and so common are they in the community where they occur, that little notice is taken of them. They produce no effect upon the public heart. They enlist no sympathy. They call up no pity. I do not mean to say, that every individual slaveholder treats his slaves cruelly. I know that there are exceptions. But it will be readily admitted by all, that the system of slavery tolerates it, and that the slave has no security, and can have no redress.

AUGUSTUS WATKINS.



## SEPARATION OF A FAMILY.

Another painful case occurred not very long since in this county. A widow lady, having a female slave with two children, was about removing from this county to Alabama. The husband of the colored woman, himself a slave, likewise lived in this county. Both master and mistress, and their two slaves, were professors of religion, members of the same identical church, and that a *Presbyterian* church. The widow lady applied to her church session for a certificate of her good standing. The session felt it would be wrong to grant her request, unless she would make such arrangements as not to separate husband and wife, parents and children. The pastor of the church and others interested themselves in the case; and the owner of the black man offered to give what was thought a reasonable price for his wife and two children. The widow lady, on being applied to, to accede to this proposition, refused; and when her Christian sympathies were appealed to, she replied, that her friends need not trouble themselves about her concerns,—she could attend to her own business while she had her senses, &c. Shortly after, she sold her black woman to a most wicked man, the keeper of a grog-shop, and with the children, (the youngest of whom was but eleven months old, torn from the breast,) moved out of the country; leaving husband and wife together, but separating parents and children. She was of course suspended from the church. It was said that the purchaser of the woman agreed, when he bought her, not to sell her again without her consent. However this may be, an opportunity offered a few weeks after, and he sold her to be carried to a far country. Her husband, overwhelmed with grief, followed her the first evening after her departure, and asked leave to spend the night with her. Even that favor her inhuman master utterly refused. And as the disconsolate husband stood without, his ears were saluted with the infernal voice of the tyrant, *Chain her down! Chain her down!!* The poor slave now lives in this town. His narration of the bitterness of his grief is enough to melt a heart of stone. Previous to his separation from his two children, he had lost a child by death. His affliction, he says, was nothing, when compared with that of having his two living children torn from him for life. This last he thought as much as he could bear. But tenfold greater was the agony of grief, when the conjugal ties were broken for ever, and he was awakened to the painful consciousness of the fact, that his beloved wife was torn from his embraces, and carried where he should never see her more! Bereft thus of his wife and children, his only consolation is in the promises of the gospel.—*Published in the Millennial Trumpeter, Maryville, Tennessee.*

## FLOGGING TO DEATH.

A slave in Georgia sought refuge in the swampy forest from the despotism which he could not brook, and kept himself concealed in places which a refugee slave alone would voluntarily inhabit, until the ragings of hunger overcame him, and he crept back to the plantation.

The overseer received him with wrath, and regardless of his anguish and his entreaties, securing him with cords, flogged him without pity.—The underling's arm grew weary—at length the tortured slave was writhing in his blood. Just then came in the master. He seized the lash, and pursued the outrage. "Pray, Massa," feebly screamed the perishing slave. What was prayer to the slave-master? Unsurbed despotism was afloat—who can utter its horrors? The sufferer's cries became more and more feeble, even the convulsions of his quivering flesh subsided—he felt no more; but the tyrant was inflamed with new rage at the passiveness of his object, and swore and drove the lash with more vengeful nerve; but in vain. The spirit had returned to Him who gave it—the voice was silent, and his flesh was dead.

The cause was tried in Milledgeville, the capital of Georgia. I had the account from a public officer, who was engaged in the trial. A white man having been present, the facts as above stated were proved. But the jury and the judge, as well as the murderer, were slaveholders.—The law was without difficulty evaded; and the murderer walks abroad without stain, glorying in the freedom of his country!

## AMALGAMATION.

A kind slave-master, in one of the Carolinas, had a large family of various colors, some enslaved, some free. One of the slaves was his favorite daughter; she grew

up beautiful, elegant, and much accomplished. Dying, he willed his help, her brother, to provide for her handsomely, and make her free. But her brother was a slave-master, and she was a slave. He kept and debauched her. It would be unlawful even to speak of such things, were it not taking the part of tyrants to conceal them. At the end of four or five years he got tired of her, and that notorious slave-dealer, Woolfolk, coming down to collect a drove, he sold his sister to him. "There is her cottage," said he to Woolfolk; "she is a violent woman. I don't like to go near her; go and carry her off by yourself." Woolfolk strode into the cottage, told her the fact, and ordered her to prepare. She was dreadfully agitated. He urged her to hasten. She rose and said, "White man, I don't believe you. I don't believe that my brother would thus sell me and his children. I will not believe unless he come himself." Woolfolk coolly went and required her brother's presence. The seducer, the tyrant, came, and, standing at the door, confirmed the slave-dealer's report. "And is it true? and have you indeed sold me?" she exclaimed, "is it really possible? Look at this child; don't you see in every feature the lineaments of its father; don't you know that your blood flows in its veins—have you—have you sold me?" The terrible fact was repeated by her master. "These children," she said, with a voice only half articulate, "never shall be slaves." "Never mind about that," said Woolfolk, "go and get ready; I shall only wait a few minutes longer." She retired with her children; the two white men continued alone; they waited—she returned not: they grew tired of waiting, and followed her to her chamber; there they found their victims beyond the reach of human wickedness, bedded in their blood.

CHARLES STUART.

## LETTER TO MR. TAPPAN.

*From Mississippi.*—I have studied the state of things here now for years, coolly and deliberately,—as I was passing by a cotton field, where about fifty negroes were at work, I heard the driver with a rough oath, order one that was near him, who seemed to be laboring to the extent of his power, to "lie down." In a moment he was obeyed; and he commenced whipping the offender upon his naked back, and continued to the amount of about twenty lashes, with a heavy raw-hide whip, the crack of which might have been heard more than half a mile. Nor did the females escape. For although I stopped scarcely fifteen minutes, no less than three were whipped in the same manner; and that so severely, I was strongly inclined to interfere.

You may be assured, sir, that I remained not unmoved. I could no longer look on such cruelty; but turned away and rode on while the echoes of the lash were reverberating in the woods around me. Such scenes have long since become familiar to me. But then the full effect was not lost; and I shall never forget to my latest day, the mingled feelings of pity, horror, and indignation, that took possession of my mind. I involuntarily exclaimed, O God of my fathers! how dost thou permit such things to defile our land! be merciful to us! and visit us not in justice for all our iniquities and the iniquities of our fathers!

As I passed on I soon found that I had escaped from one horrible scene only to witness another. A planter with whom I was well acquainted, had caught a negro without a pass. And at the moment I was passing by, he was in the act of fastening his feet and hands to the trees, having previously made him take off all his clothing except his trowsers. When he had sufficiently secured this poor creature, he beat him for several minutes with a green switch more than six feet long; while he was writhing with anguish, endeavoring in vain to break the cords with which he was bound, and incessantly crying out, Lord, master! Do pardon me this time! Do, master, have mercy! These expressions have recurred to me a thousand times since, and although they came from one, that is not considered among the sons of men, yet I think they are well worthy of remembrance, as they might lead a wise man to consider whether such shall receive mercy from the righteous Judge, as never showed mercy to their fellow men.

At length I arrived at the dwelling of a planter of my acquaintance with whom I passed the night. At about eight o'clock in the evening I heard the barking of several dogs, mingled with the most agonizing cries that I ever heard from any

him up being. Soon after, the gentleman came in, and began to apologize, by saying that two of his runaway slaves had just been brought home, and as he had previously tried every species of punishment upon them without effect, he knew not what else to add except to set his bloodhounds upon them. "And," continued he, "one of them has been so badly bitten that he has been trying to die. I am only sorry that he did not; for then I should not have been further troubled with him. If he lives, I intend to send him to Natchez or to New Orleans to work with the ball and chain."

From this last remark I understood that private individuals have the right of thus subjecting their unmanageable slaves. I have since seen numbers of these "ball and chain" men, both in Natchez and New Orleans, but I do not know whether there were any among them except the state convicts.

As the summer was drawing towards a close, and the yellow fever beginning to prevail in town, I went to reside some months in the country. This was the cotton picking season, during which the planters say, there is a greater necessity for flogging than at any other time. And I can assure you that as I have sat in my window night after night while the cotton was being weighed, I have heard the crack of the whip, without much intermission, for a whole hour, from no less than three plantations, some of which were a full mile distant.

I found that the slaves were kept in the field from daylight until dark, and then if they had not gathered, what the master or overseer thought sufficient, they were subjected to the lash.

Many, by such treatment; are induced to run away and take up their lodging in the woods. I do not say that all who run away are thus closely pressed. But I do know that many are; and I have known no less than a dozen desert at a time from the same plantation, in consequence of the overseer's forcing them to work to the extent of their power, and then whipping them for not having done more.

But suppose that they run away—what is to become of them in the forest? If they cannot steal, they must perish of hunger—if the nights are cold, their feet will be frozen; for if they make a fire they may be discovered, and be shot at. If they attempt to leave the country, their chance of success is about nothing. They must return, be whipped—if old offenders, wear the collar, perhaps be branded, and fare worse than before.

Do you believe it, sir, not six months since, I saw a number of my *Christian* neighbors, packing up provisions, as I supposed, for a deer hunt; but as I was about offering myself to the party, I learned that their powder and balls were destined to a very different purpose; it was, in short, the design of the party to bring home a number of runaway slaves, or to shoot them if they should not be able to get possession of them in any other way.

You will ask, is not this murder? Call it, sir, by what name you please, such are the facts—many are shot every year; and that too while the masters say they treat their slaves well.

But let me turn your attention to another species of cruelty. About a year since, I knew a certain slave who had deserted his master, to be caught and for the first night fastened in the stocks. In those same stocks from which at midnight I have heard cries of distress, while the master slept, and was dreaming perhaps of drinking wine and of discussing the price of cotton. On the next morning he was chained in an immovable posture, and branded in both cheeks, with red hot stamps of iron. Such are the tender mercies of men who love wealth, and are determined to obtain it at any price.

Suffer me to add another to the list of enormities, and I will not offend you with more.

There was, some time since, brought to trial in this town, a planter residing about fifteen miles distant, for whipping his slave to death. You will suppose of course that he was punished. No, sir, he was acquitted, although there could be no doubt of the fact. I heard the tale of murder from a man who was acquainted with all the circumstances. "I was," said he, "passing along the road near the burying ground of the plantation, about nine o'clock at night, when I saw several lights gleaming through the woods—and as I approached, in order to see what was doing, I beheld the coroner of Natchez with a number of men, standing around the body of a young female, which by the torches seemed almost perfectly white. On inquiry I learned that the master had so unmercifully beaten this girl that she died under the opera-

tion. And that also he had so severely punished another of his slaves that he was but just alive.

But, sir, you must not suppose that there are no laws for the protection of the slave. There are such laws; but of what avail they are, I have not yet been able to understand. It has always appeared to me that the masters are as independent as though there were no other beings in the creation but their slaves and themselves. And you know, sir, how dangerous it would be to entrust unlimited power to any set of men—however upright they might be at the time—for they would be sure to abuse it, especially if it had reference entirely to their own interest.

Yet these men say they treat their slaves well! It is folly to use words without meaning; but I fear, that, in this polite age, we use too many words in a sense altogether different from their right meaning. I have seen hundreds of slaves treated as my cattle and horses shall never be treated with my consent. I do not pretend to say, that every one is branded with red-hot irons, that every one is shot, or that half of them are whipped to death. But I know that some of them are, and I doubt not but thousands of such cases have occurred, and will occur again if this system of oppression is not broken up.

And what is the exact number of such deeds that it is necessary to present in order to persuade the people of New England that slavery in this country is opposed to humanity and the spirit of the gospel? I am told that they are in the habit of considering these enormities as exceptions to the general treatment. Let them be called exceptions, or by any other name in the English language, enough of them have already defiled the land to condemn slavery for ever. How many murders is it necessary should occur on the high seas to make the term piracy apply with propriety to such deeds? If the crew of any vessel plunders another crew of all their effects, murders the captain and some of the men, and treat the remainder well, by putting them to sea in an open boat, after having given them each a hundred lashes, shall not these plunderers be called pirates—because they will not kill the whole, but treated a part well?

By this example you may understand what is meant by good treatment to slaves. It is not treating them so badly as they might be treated, but only giving them a hundred lashes each to show them the value of discipline—plundering them of all the avails of their labor, because they might in their ignorance make a bad use of their money—depriving them of intellectual and moral instruction, out of a tender regard to their happiness—and depriving them of their liberty, because they are ignorant and totally unfit to have justice done them?

The truth is, there is no possible way of treating slaves well. The root of the tree is most unholy, and all the branches will ever be unalloyed iniquity. Then pluck it up by the roots; better that a little soil should be somewhat moved for a time, than that pestilence and death should devour millions of human beings. And the longer it is delayed the firmer will it be fixed in the earth, and the further the branches extend, the more effectually will they shut out the light of Heaven. Can not justice be done in Christian America, as well as in barbarous Africa? For fifteen years Africa has been looked to by many great and good men as the only hope of the oppressed. But fifteen years has relieved but three thousand, while more than half a million have been born to servitude.—*Letter to Mr. Tappan from Natchez, 1833.*

### CASES OF CRUELTY.

A clergyman of Kentucky declared that he had seen a master whip repeatedly a female slave who was upwards of eighty years old, and who had been this master's 'mammy,' that is, had nursed him at her breast in his infancy.

A gentleman who has been in North Carolina, has seen a female slave, who complained of illness, and refused to work, struck with the blade of a paddle, twelve or fifteen blows. Two hours after this treatment she was confined. The same gentleman saw a free negro tied to a tree, and a negro slave, who was attached to him, ordered to whip him. She refused, saying she loved him too well. The men then tied her up and gave her 'five.' This overcame her resolution, and she consented to whip the man.—*Francis Standin.*

In derision, this tree was called "the Lafayette tree." The secret of the affair

was, that the negress had been the mistress of one of these whites. Yet we are told by Murat, that whites are elevated too much above negroes to feel resentment or revenge towards them.

The Duke of Saxo Weimar states that a female slave was whipped at New Orleans by her mistress, that her lover was compelled to stand by and count off the lashes, and that she was afterwards publicly whipped by the magistrate. Her offence was, that, being engaged in some other duty, she had not started quite as quick to bring water to a lodger as he thought she should do. He struck her a blow in the face which made the blood run, and she, in sudden heat and resentment, seized him by the throat.

William Ladd, known as a friend of colonization, and an opponent of Anti-Slavery Societies, and not likely, therefore, to exaggerate, but rather to soften the hated features of the system, alludes publicly to the following, among other horrors which he has witnessed: A gentleman of his acquaintance, was offended with a female slave. He seized her by the arm, and thrust her hand into the fire, and there he held it until it was burnt off. 'I saw,' said Mr. Ladd, 'the withered stump.'—*Address at Colonization Society of Massachusetts, 1833.*

"Mr Sutcliff, an English Quaker, who travelled in this country, relates a case very like that of the Kentucky girl, only that the catastrophe was more shocking. A slave owner, near Lewistown, in the state of Delaware, lost a piece of leather. He charged a little slave boy with stealing it. The boy denied. The master tied the boy's feet, and suspended him from the limb of a tree, attaching a heavy weight to his ancles, as is usual in such cases, to prevent such kicking and writhing as would break the blows. He then whipped; the boy confessed; and then he commenced whipping anew for the offence itself. He was a kind master, and never whipped the lad again, for he died under the lash! Then the slaveholder's own son, smitten with remorse, acknowledged that he took the leather.

"An honorable friend, who was high in the state and in the nation, was present at the burial of a female slave in Mississippi, who had been whipped to death at the post by her master, because she was gone longer of an errand to the neighboring town, than her master thought necessary. Under the lash she protested that she was ill, and was obliged to rest in the field. To complete the climax of horror, she was decorated of a dead infant before her master had completed his work!"

*Child's Despotism of Freedom.*

*From Florida.*—In speaking of slavery as it is, I hardly know where to begin. I consider the physical sufferings of the slaves as by no means the greatest evil of slavery. The contemplation of the laws of most of the southern states, which consign the mind of the colored man to endless night, and which leave no measures untried to sink him to a level with the brute, awakens in me stronger indignation than his groans under the lash. But the physical condition of the slave is far from being accurately known at the North. Gentlemen travelling in the South can know nothing of it. They must make the South their residence; they must live on plantations before they can have any opportunity of judging of the condition of the slave. I resided in Augustine five months, and had I not made particular inquiries, which most northern visitors very seldom or never do, I should have left there with the impression that the slaves were generally very well treated, and were a happy people. Such is the report of many northern travellers who have no more opportunity of knowing their real condition than if they had remained at home. What confidence could we place in the report of the traveller, relative to the condition of the Irish peasantry, who formed his opinion from the appearance of the waiters at a Dublin hotel, or the household servants of a country gentleman? And it is not often on plantations even, that strangers can witness the punishment of the slave. I was conversing the other day with a neighboring planter, upon the brutal treatment of the slaves which I had witnessed: he remarked, that had I been with him I should not have seen this. "When I whip niggers, I take them out of sight and bearing of the house, and no one in my family knows it. I would not on any consideration harden and brutalize the minds of my children by suffering them to witness a negro whipping." Such being the difficulties in the way of a stranger's ascertaining the treatment of the slaves, it is not to be wondered at, that gentlemen of undoubted veracity, should give directly false statements relative to it. But facts

cannot lie, and in giving these I confine myself to what has come under my own personal observation. Yet I hoped to have found the facts exaggerated. I had heard of females stripped and exposed to the insulting gaze and cruel lash of the driver. I have seen a woman, a mother, compelled in the presence of her master and mistress, to hold up her clothes, and endure the whip of the driver on the naked body for more than twenty minutes, and while her cries would have rent the heart of any one, who had not hardened himself to human suffering. Her master and mistress were conversing with apparent indifference. What was her crime? She had a task given her of sewing which she must finish that day. Late at night she finished it; but the stitches were too long, and she must be whipped. The same was repeated three or four nights for the same offence. I had heard of the whipping-post, and the extent of its use. I have seen a man tied to a tree, hands and feet, and receive three hundred and five blows with the paddle, [a piece of oak timber three and a half feet long, flat and wide at one end,] on the fleshy parts of the body. Two others received the same kind of punishment at the time, though I did not count the blows. One received two hundred and thirty lashes. Their crime was stealing. One of them had asked for meat, saying that he could not work without it. He was refused the meat, and with a few others killed and secreted a hog of his master's. They had nearly finished the pork, when it was found, and being charged with stealing it, they did not deny it, but one of them remarked with unusual firmness, that he must have meat, he could not work on [corn] bread. (His master owns from eighty to one hundred hogs.) I have frequently heard the shrieks of the slaves, male and female, accompanied by the strokes of the paddle or whip, when I have not gone near the scene of horror. I knew not their crimes, excepting of one woman, which was stealing four potatoes to eat with her bread! So much have I seen on one plantation. Of the general treatment of the slaves, I can judge only from a few facts which I accidentally learn. Masters are not forward to publish their "domestic regulations," and as neighbors are usually several miles apart, one's observation must be limited. Hence the few instances of cruelty which break out can be but a fraction of what is practised. A planter, a professor of religion, in conversation upon the universality of whipping, remarked that "a planter in G—, who had whipped a great deal, at length got tired of it, and invented the following excellent method of punishment, which I saw practised while I was paying him a visit. The negro was placed in a sitting position, with his hands made fast above his head, and feet in the stocks, so that he could not move any part of the body. The master retired, intending to leave him till morning, but we were awakened in the night by the groans of the negro, which were so doleful that we feared he was dying. We went to him, and found him covered with a cold sweat, and almost gone. He could not have lived an hour longer. Mr. — found the 'stocks' such an effective punishment, that it almost superseded the whip."

I do not believe there have been five slaves freed in Florida since its cession to the United States. The Spanish laws favored emancipation, but as one old negro expressed it, "Nobody gets free since Spanish times." The laws of Florida, sanctioned by the United States general government, forbid emancipation. I mentioned to one negro that I had heard of a man in East Florida who allowed his slaves wages, and when they amounted to his price and interest, the slaves were free; says he, "that man was no American, I reckon. He must have been a Yankee or a Spaniard."

Another instrument of torture is sometimes used, how extensively I know not. The negro, or, in the case which came to my knowledge, the negress was compelled to stand barefoot upon a block filled with sharp pegs and nails for two or three hours. In case of sickness, if the master or overseer thinks them seriously ill, they are taken care of, but their complaints are usually not much heeded. A physician told me that he was employed by a planter last winter to go to a plantation of his in the country, as many of the negroes were sick. Says he—"I found them in a most miserable condition. The weather was cold, and the negroes were barefoot with hardly enough of cotton clothing to cover their nakedness. Those who had huts to shelter them were obliged to build them nights and Sundays. Many were sick and some had died. I had the sick taken to an older plantation of their master's, where they could be made comfortable, and they recovered. I directed that they should not go to work till after sunrise, and should not work in the rain till their health became established. But the overseer refusing to permit it, I declined attending on

them further." "I was called," continued he, "by the overseer of another plantation, to see one of the men. I found him lying by the side of a log in great pain. I asked him how he did, 'O,' says he, 'I'm most dead, can't live but little longer.' How long have you been sick? 'I've felt for more than six weeks as though I could hardly stir.' Why didn't you tell your master you was sick? 'I couldn't see my master, and the overseer always whips us when we complain. I could not stand a whipping.' I did all I could for the poor fellow, but his lungs were rotten. He died in three days from the time he left off work." The cruelty of that overseer is such that the negroes almost tremble at his name. Yet he gets a high salary, for he makes the largest crop of any other man in the neighborhood, though none but the hardiest negroes can stand it under him. "That man," says the doctor, "would be hung in my country" [Germany].—*Letters to the Editor of the Ohio Atlas, from Tallahassee, Florida, May, 1835*

### ASA A. STONE.

NATCHEZ, May 24, 1835.

No one here thinks that the slaves are seldom over-driven and under-fed. Every body knows it to be one of the most common occurrences. The planters do not deny it, except perhaps to Northerners, whom they like to be uninformed on the subject—or when on some particular occasion they wish to carry a point. True, they try to make the thing appear as fair as possible, and are in the habit of holding it up to themselves and others in its most favorable light. But then, no planter of intelligence and candor denies that slaves are very generally badly treated in this country. I wish to be understood now at the commencement, that intending as I do that my statements shall be relied on, and knowing that, should you think fit to publish this communication, they will come to this country, where their correctness may be tested by comparison with real life, I make them with the utmost care and precaution. But those which I do make are made without the least apprehension of their being controverted. It occurs to me that perhaps one reason why the public mind at the North is no more satisfied on this subject is, that the facts and statements respecting slavery at the South have not been of a sufficiently general application. Particular instances of hard-driving, ill-feeding, severe-flogging, and other cruelties have been given without making any statements from which a definite conception of the extent and frequency of such treatment could be formed. I hope to avoid this, and to give such facts as will enable you to form a correct, and as far as may be, an accurate idea of slavery as it really exists in the Southwest.

It is seen here undoubtedly in its worst form in the United States, and I shall not vouch for the correctness of my statements when applied to any other section than this—say the four states of Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana. Portions of the northern parts of the two former states might also be excepted.

A few days ago I was talking with an overseer of a plantation, the owner of which has universally the reputation of being a good master, and treating his slaves unusually well in every respect. The slaves themselves testify to this, and they say that the overseer is not as hard as most of them are. This overseer, speaking of the work on the place, said, it was a little behind, but he was pushing the hands up to it. Says he—"I crowded them up to-day till some of the women fairly cried." And then added, "it is pretty severe." Meaning, not that it was severe compared with the general usage, but in itself considered—for he always represents himself as not being as severe as most overseers. This same man, and many other overseers and owners, have told me that throughout the country, on plantations having fifty hands, the number of floggings during the press of hoeing and cotton picking, average one or two a day, and frequently fifteen or twenty are flogged at once, particularly in the time of cotton picking. My observations and inquiries on this subject have been such, that I feel no hesitation in saying that as a general thing there is at least the above number of floggings daily on plantations of that size, and this barely on the score of work. I ask, then, does this look like not being "over-driven?" But to go more into particulars: Mr. —, a planter who resides about fourteen miles above Natchez, says, "They generally treat their slaves very

well in his neighborhood." Hear how. "On a plantation of fifty hands it is common in cotton picking time to have a negro whipped every night, and frequently two or three, for not doing the required amount of work. I have myself whipped fourteen or fifteen of a night, or, rather, had my driver do it. They always lie down and receive it on their bare back and buttock. If they are uneasy they are sometimes tied; the hands and feet being stretched out to a stake driven for the purpose. But they are usually held by other negroes. In a bad case, one takes hold of each hand and each foot, and another holds or sits on his head. If they don't hold him well, give them a cut or two with the whip, and I warrant you they will hold him still enough if they have to take their teeth." So much for the testimony of a planter with respect to the driving of slaves in a neighborhood where they are "very well treated." With regard to the process of getting slaves up to their ne-plus in cotton picking, the same man says: "There is no specified quantity which is required of each hand; but measures are taken to find out how much each can do when put to his possibilities. Sometimes \$1 or some other prize is set up to the one who will pick most cotton in a day. A smaller prize is proposed to second rate hands, and so on. If this does not succeed with all, they are whipped up all day to make them do their best. When they think they have got a fellow up to high water mark, as it is called, they weigh the cotton he has picked during the day; then they weigh it every night afterwards, and if he falls short any considerable amount, he is flogged. The number of lashes given is from thirty to two hundred." This is done with a whip from seven to nine feet in length, made by plaiting leather over a short sock above two feet long, and then continued out into a long heavy lash. It is an instrument of terrible severity. Its crack can be heard distinctly from half a mile to a mile. The preceding facts and statements respect the general practice with regard to driving. There are many exceptions to the general rule on both sides; some are much more mild and some as much more severe. As evidence of the latter, I will state one fact out of many within my knowledge, which, however, I did not receive from an overseer or owner. It came, however, from such a source that I have no doubt of its correctness. The overseer on Mr. —'s plantation near Natchez, two or three years ago, found some difficulty in getting his hands to pick as much cotton in a day as he wished. Accordingly he took to the whip. He commenced on Wednesday and whipped all his hands; (about fifty,) twice round; Thursday he whipped them all three times; and Friday he whipped them all once. Saturday he was absent. Monday he returned and whipped ten of the hands once, and so tapered down to the common whipping level. Some few probably escaped some of the floggings each day; but not enough to be noticed by my informant in his statement, though he resided on the place at the time, and was intimately acquainted with the particulars. The floggings were regular, and of course ranged from thirty lashes upwards.

And now, Mr. Editor, I leave you and your readers to judge whether the slaves at the South are over-driven, and whether this is the kind of usage that free laborers at the North would like to submit to. I now proceed to show that they are under-fed. But, in the first place, I will say that the stories that have been sometimes circulated at the North, about the planters at the South feeding their slaves on cotton seed, are all a humbug. There may have been some instances of the experiment's being tried; but that it is commonly, or even occasionally brought into regular practice, is false. The general rule of feeding is to give just what will supply the demands of nature, and no more. Slaves are almost universally allowed. Their rations are usually a peck of meal, and three or three and a half pounds of meat a week. This is dealt out on some plantations weekly, and on others daily: which is the more common practice, I am not able to say. Some add a half pint or a pint of molasses a week. As a general thing, the bread stuff is given them ground, and not whole, as has been sometimes represented. On most plantations there is a cook, who prepares their breakfast and dinner, which are always eaten in the field. Their suppers they prepare for themselves after they return from work. Some allowance them only in meat, giving what meal they want; the general rule, however, is a peck of meal and three pounds of meat a week. This allowance is frequently very much shortened when corn or meat is scarce or high. So that on almost every plantation, the hands suffer more or less from hunger at some season of almost every year. I have conversed with some very candid slaves on this subject; and they say that they can do very well on a peck



of meal and three and a half pounds of meat a week, except in the winter, when their appetites are keener, and crave particularly more meat. This accords with universal experience. The appetite is always keener, particularly for flesh, in cold weather than in hot. They say, moreover, that they by no means always get their full allowance, and that they often suffer much from hunger. The truth of this I could establish by a multitude of facts from various sources. But aside from the occasional underfeeding that takes place on most plantations, there are many who are notorious as overdrivers and underfeeders, and are talked about as such: so that if the northern folks deny that this is often the case, they deny what their better informed neighbors at the South openly talked about as notorious. Why, a few days ago I heard a planter and his wife talking about the health of a neighboring plantation. The lady entertained the opinion that it was sickly, and as evidence mentioned the large number of negroes that died during last summer. The gentleman replied, that "it was no wonder, the owner starved them so much. His principle was, if he had not corn enough, to make it last." And this I know to be a principle very extensively acted upon. Here I would remark, that such facts as these are constantly coming to light in multitudes, from the every day conversation of planters. In Louisiana, the treatment of slaves, in almost all respects, is doubtless worse than in any other part of the United States. There, short feeding is very common. And it is true, that among the old French planters, the corn, instead of being ground, is given out in the ear, and the slaves left to dispose of it as they can. They are also in many cases allowed no meat, but have Saturday afternoon for fishing, &c., when the work is not too crowding to forbid it. This, however, is very common; and then—yes, and then—"what must poor nigger do?" I will mention a fact to illustrate this statement. It was told me by the captain of a boat with whom I am well acquainted, and whom I know to be a man of genuine integrity. He was passing down the Mississippi with a flat boat load of pork. As he was floating along the levee near the shore, between Baton Rouge and New Orleans, he saw a negro whose emaciated countenance and downcast look attracted his attention. He hailed him and entered into conversation with him. Among other things he asked him where he was from. "O master," says he, "thank God, from good old Kentucky." "Had you rather live in Kentucky than here?" "Oh yes, master, there I had plenty to eat, but here I am most starved. I have not tasted meat for months." By this time several others had made their appearance, who joined the first in his testimony about starvation. The captain now commenced throwing out a few joints and other bits of not much account, for their relief. On seeing this, several others ran down from the neighboring quarters to share the spoils. But scarce had they reached the levee, when a white man appeared also, raving and swearing most furiously, and seizing a club about the size and length of a common hoop pole, he commenced mauling them over the head with all his might. Two or three he knocked down on the spot, and others escaped severely wounded. It is not from such isolated facts as these that I draw my conclusions respecting the commonness of bad feeding: I mention this to give a specimen of the nature and extent of the suffering. It is from other data that I judge of its prevalence. I will now give a brief recapitulation. On a few plantations there is no suffering for want of food, such as it is, though on all it is so coarse and so unvaried, that the poorest laborers at the North would most bitterly complain of it. On the majority of plantations, the feeding supplies the demands of nature tolerably well, except in the winter, and at some other occasional times. There is always a good deal of suffering on them from hunger in the course of the year. On many plantations, and particularly in Louisiana and among the French planters, the slaves are in a condition of almost utter famishment during a great portion of the year. And now, I ask, are not the slaves also underfed? Let a man pass through the plantations where they fare best, and see fifty or sixty hands, men and women, sitting right down on the furrows where their food cart happens to overtake them, and making their meal of a bit of corn bread and water, and he will think it is rather hard fare. This is not unfrequently the case on plantations where they are considered well fed. For it will be seen that three and a half pounds of meat would allow but a very small slice if used at every meal. But let us look at it in its best form. A bit of corn bread, three ounces of meat, and a little molasses. And this, morning, noon, and night—night, noon, and morning. Suppose a contractor on one of our northern canals or rail roads were to give his hands this fare, what

would be the consequence? Why they would very probably take the contractor, give him a sound flogging, tar and feather him, and quit his employ. Every body knows that such a contractor could get nobody to work for him. But "the southern slaves are better off than northern free laborers." The proof is above.

I will now say a few words about treatment and condition in general. That flogging is very common and severe, appears from what has been already said. But those facts were given only in connexion with labor. The picture is not finished. I must now say that floggings for all offences, including deficiencies in work, are frightfully common and most terribly severe. How much is to be added for miscellaneous floggings, to the amount of floggings already stated, cannot be said with any degree of precision. There must of course be a very considerable accession. An overseer from Louisiana says, "On many of the plantations in Louisiana, (and he specified several and gave particulars,) the masters are drunken tyrants, and whip their negroes for the slightest offences, not unfrequently just for the sake of whipping them, if they can find no other occasion. Their field hands, with few exceptions, are whipped all round as often as once a week. They say they will get ugly if they are not whipped as often as that." This is said of those who are particularly severe: though he says there are many of them. Now with respect to the general rule. He says, that "on plantations in Louisiana having fifty hands, the average number of whippings during the whole cotton growing and cotton picking season," (which lasts from April to December,) "is from one to five or six of a day and night." I was careful to make such inquiries into particulars, as to be satisfied that his statements could in the main be relied on. I have since had their truth corroborated from other sources. This overseer plumes himself on being able to manage negroes with but little whipping. He had twenty-two hands, and he says he did not whip more than twelve or fifteen times during picking season. He told me of whipping "one resolute fellow" at the commencement of picking. It was for stealing a few pounds of cotton to put in his daily mess. He first paddled him with a handsaw till he blistered him thoroughly, then whipped him, he thought, about 150 lashes, and wound up by rubbing him with salt. Rubbing with salt and red pepper is very common after a severe whipping. The object, they say, is primarily to make it smart; but add, that it is the best thing that can be done to prevent mortification and make the gashes heal. This lenient man gave me another instance of his whipping. The subject was a woman. He says he alternately paddled with a handsaw, whipped, and talked, for about four hours. He paddled her on her buttock and the soles of her feet, and gave her he does not know how many hundred lashes. I will state one or two more facts, to show more clearly the occasions of floggings, and the manner and severity with which they are given. Last summer, the nurse of a family with whom I am very well acquainted was, for some misdemeanor, put into the stocks and kept there all night. The next morning, feeling more sulky than subdued, she took occasion to throw a large dish of water on one of the children. The master was enraged—sent for four hands from the quarters—had her tied down, and the master's daughter, who gave me the information, says she counted 250 lashes. A few days ago the mistress, who is a respectable member of the Presbyterian church in Natchez, fancied that this same nurse made too free in correcting the children. She flew into a passion—seized the broomstick—struck her three times over the head, and broke it. She then snatched up a pine stick, about an inch square and three feet long—struck her three times over the head with that, and broke it. Such occurrences as these are abundant. Northern free house servants would hardly be willing to exchange their present treatment for such usage.

The clothing of slaves is about on a par with their food. It is of the coarsest articles, and very scanty in amount. However, most of them are clothed. Yet in the worst parts of Louisiana it is not an uncommon thing to see hands working in the field, almost or entirely naked. Their general style of living at home is in keeping with their food and clothing. You will generally find one family occupying a room about twelve or fourteen feet square. In this are two old crazy bedsteads. Sometimes having on them an old dirty mattress or straw bed; sometimes a nest of old, ragged, dirty blankets; sometimes a little loose hay or straw, and sometimes nothing at all. The rest of the room is occupied by a rickety table, a few old stools, boxes, baskets, pots, &c. Chairs are seldom found. You may go to twenty cabins, and not find half a dozen. The very worst holes you can find in the city

of New York are good specimens of a slave's home. That any southern man should ever represent the condition of the colored people at the North as worse than that of the slaves at the South, I am perfectly astonished. With the condition of the colored people in several of the northern cities I am well acquainted, by personal observation and by report. I am considerably acquainted with it in many others, and I hesitate not to say, that the condition of free people of color in every northern city, is far superior to that of the slaves in the southwest.

But, dear sir, I have not yet come to the bad part of slavery. What you have heard as yet is tolerably good—comparatively. It is in the intellectual and moral condition of slaves that you behold the most hideous features of slavery. On the plantation where I now reside, there are about 100 persons above the age of twelve years, not a soul of whom can read or write. The same is the case with a large proportion of the plantations throughout the country. I am perfectly safe in saying that, including house servants and all, both in town and country, there is not one in fifty of the slave population of the southwest that can read or write. Their ignorance on all subjects, especially moral and religious, is astonishing and deplorable. May the Lord bless your efforts to bring the slaves of the South into as happy a condition as the "free laborers of the North."—*Letter to Rev. J. Leavitt.*

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*Burning men in Arkansas.*—The slave *William*, who murdered his master some weeks since (Huskey), and several negroes, was taken by a party a few days since, from the sheriff at Hot Spring, and burnt alive! yes, tied up to the limb of a tree, a fire built under him, and consumed in slow and lingering torture!

The circumstances of this criminal outrage are aggravated by the fact, that the evidence against the negro was of such a character, that there was no chance of his escape from a just expiation of his crime by law.—*Arkansas Gazette.*

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*Scene in Georgia.*—On the morning of the execution, my master told me and all the rest of his people, that we must go to the hanging, as it was termed by him as well as others. The place of punishment was only two miles from my master's residence, and I was there in time to get a good stand near the gallows tree; by which I was enabled to see all the proceedings connected with this solemn affair. It was estimated by my master, that there were at least fifteen thousand people present at this scene, more than half of whom were blacks; all the masters for a great distance round the country having permitted or compelled their people to come to this hanging.

Billy was brought to the gallows with Lucy and Frank; but was permitted to walk beside the cart in which they rode. Under the gallows, after the rope was about her neck, Lucy confessed that the murder had been designed by her in the first place, and that Frank had only perpetrated it at her instance. She said she had at first intended to apply to Billy to assist her in the undertaking; but had afterwards communicated her designs to Frank, who offered to shoot her master, if she would supply him with a gun, and let no other person be in the secret. A long sermon was preached by a white man under the gallows, which was only the limb of a tree, and afterwards an exhortation was delivered by a black one. The two convicts were hung together; and after they were quite dead, a consultation was held amongst the gentlemen, as to the future disposition of Billy, who, having been in the house where his master was murdered, and not having given immediate information of the fact, was held to be guilty of concealing the death; and was accordingly sentenced to receive five hundred lashes. I was in the branches of a tree, close by the place where this court was held, and distinctly heard its proceedings and judgment. Some went to the woods to cut hickories, whilst others stripped Billy and tied him to a tree. More than twenty long switches, some of them six or seven feet in length, had been procured; and two men applied the rods at the same time, one standing on each side of the culprit; one of them using his left hand. I had often seen black men whipped, and had always, where the lash was applied with great severity, heard the sufferer cry out and beg for mercy; but in this case, the pain inflicted by these double blows of the hickory was so intense, that

Billy never uttered so much as a groan ; and I do not believe he breathed for the space of two minutes after he received the first stroke. He struck his body close to the trunk of the tree, around which his arms and legs were lashed ; drew his shoulders up to his head like a dying man, and trembled, or rather shivered, in all his members. The blood flowed from the commencement, and in a few minutes lay in small puddles at the root of the tree. I saw flakes of flesh as long as my finger fall out of the gashes in his back ; and I believe he was insensible during all the time that he was receiving the last two hundred lashes. When the whole five hundred had been counted by the person appointed to perform this duty, the half-dead body was unbound and laid in the shade of the tree upon which I sat. The gentlemen who had done the whipping, eight or ten in number, being joined by their friends, then came under the tree, and drank punch until their dinner was made ready, under a booth of green boughs at a short distance.

After dinner, Billy, who had been groaning on the ground where he was laid, was taken up, placed in the cart in which Lucy and Frank had been brought to the gallows, and conveyed to the dwelling of his late master, where he was confined to the house and his bed more than three months, and was never worth much afterwards, while I remained in Georgia.

Certainly those who were hanged well deserved their punishment, but it was a very arbitrary exercise of power to whip a man until he was insensible, because he did not prevent a murder which was committed without his knowledge ; and I could not understand the right of punishing him because he was so weak or timorous, as to refrain from a disclosure of the crime the moment it came to his ears.—

*Life of Charles Ball.*

## THE AFRICAN CHARACTER.

### MUNGO PARK.

I was fully convinced, that whatever difference there is between the negro and the European, in the conformation of the nose, and the color of the skin, there is none in the genuine sympathies and characteristic feelings of our common nature.

[At Sego, in Bambarra, the king, being jealous of Mr. Park's intentions, forbade him to cross the river. Under these discouraging circumstances, he was advised to lodge at a distant village; but there the same distrust of the white man's purposes prevailed, and no person would allow him to enter his house. He says,] I was regarded with astonishment and fear, and was obliged to sit all day without food, under the shade of a tree. The wind rose, and there was great appearance of a heavy rain, and the wild beasts are so very numerous in the neighborhood, that I should have been under the necessity of resting among the branches of the tree. About sunset, however, as I was preparing to pass the night in this manner, and had turned my horse loose, that he might graze at liberty, a woman, returning from the labors of the field, stopped to observe me. Perceiving that I was weary and dejected, she inquired into my situation, which I briefly explained to her; whereupon, with looks of great compassion, she took up my saddle and bridle and told me to follow her. Having conducted me into her hut, she lighted a lamp, spread a mat on the floor, and told me I might remain there for the night. Finding that I was hungry, she went out, and soon returned with a very fine fish, which being broiled upon some embers, she gave me for supper. The women then resumed their task of spinning cotton, and lightened their labor with songs, one of which must have been composed extempore, for I was myself the subject of it. It was sung by one of the young women, the rest joining in a kind of chorus. The air was sweet and plaintive; and the words literally translated, were these :

"The winds roar'd, and the rains fell;  
The poor white man, faint and weary,  
Came and sat under our tree.—  
He has no mother to bring him milk;  
No wife to grind his corn.

CHORUS.

"Let us pity the white man;  
No mother has he to bring him milk.  
No wife to grind his corn."

Trifling as this recital may appear, the circumstance was highly affecting to a person in my situation. I was oppressed with such unexpected kindness, and sleep fled from my eyes. In the morning,

I presented my compassionate landlady with two of the four brass buttons remaining on my waistcoat ; the only recompense I could make her.

[At Kamalia, he recovered from a fever, which had tormented him several weeks. His benevolent landlord came daily to inquire after his health, and see that he had every thing for his comfort. Mr. Park assures us that the simple and affectionate manner of those around him contributed not a little to his recovery. He adds.] thus was I delivered, by the friendly care of this benevolent negro, from a situation truly deplorable. Distress and famine pressed hard upon me ; I had before me the gloomy wilderness of Jallonkadoo, where the traveller sees no habitation for five successive days. I had observed, at a distance, the rapid course of the river Kokaro, and had almost marked out the place where I thought I was doomed to perish, when this friendly negro stretched out his hospitable hand for my relief. Mr. Park having travelled in company with a cofile of thirty-five slaves, thus describes his feelings as they came near the coast : “ Although I was now approaching the end of my tedious and toilsome journey, and expected in another day to meet with countrymen and friends, I could not part with my unfortunate fellow-traveller, — doomed as I knew most of them to be, to a life of slavery in a foreign land, — without great emotion. During a peregrination of more than five hundred miles, exposed to the burning rays of a tropical sun, these poor slaves, amidst their own infinitely greater sufferings, would commiserate mine, and frequently, of their own accord, bring water to quench my thirst, and at night collect branches and leaves to prepare me a bed in the wilderness. We parted with mutual regret and blessings. My good wishes and prayers were all I could bestow upon them, and it afforded me some consolation to be told that they were sensible I had no more to give.

All the negro nations that fell under my observation, though divided into a number of petty, independent states, subsist chiefly by the same means, live nearly in the same temperature, and possess a wonderful similarity of disposition. The Mandingoes, in particular, are a very gentle race, cheerful, inquisitive, credulous, simple, and fond of flattery. Perhaps the most prominent defect in their character, was that insurmountable propensity, to steal from me the few effects I was possessed of. No complete justification can be offered for this conduct, because theft is a crime in their own estimation ; and it must be observed that they are not habitually and generally guilty of it towards each other. But before we pronounce them a more depraved people than any other, it were well to consider, whether the lower class of people in any part of Europe, would have acted under similar circumstances, with greater honesty towards a stranger. It must be remembered that the laws of the country afforded me no protection ; that every one was permitted to rob me with impunity ; and that some part of my effects were of as great value in the estimation of the negroes, as pearls and diamonds would have been in the eyes of a European. Let us suppose a black merchant of Hindoostan had

found his way into England, with a box of jewels at his back, and the laws of the kingdom afforded him no security—in such a case, the wonder would be, not that the stranger was robbed of any part of his riches, but that any part was left for a second depredator.\* Such, on sober reflection, is the judgment I have formed concerning the pilfering disposition of the Mandingo negroes toward me.

On the other hand, it is impossible for me to forget the disinterested charity, and tender solicitude, with which many of these poor heathens, from the sovereign of Sogo, to the poor women who at different times received me into their cottages, sympathized with my sufferings, relieved my distress, and contributed to my safety. Perhaps this acknowledgment is more particularly due to the female part of the nation. Among the men, as the reader must have seen, my reception, though generally kind, was sometimes otherwise. It varied according to the tempers of those to whom I made application. Avarice in some, and bigotry in others, had closed up the avenues to compassion; but I do not recollect a single instance of hard-heartedness towards me in the women. In all my wanderings and wretchedness, I found them uniformly kind and compassionate; and I can truly say, as Mr. Ledyard has eloquently said before me—"To a woman I never addressed myself in the language of decency and friendship, without receiving a decent and friendly answer. If I was hungry or thirsty, wet or ill, they did not hesitate, like the men, to perform a generous action. In so free and so kind a manner did they contribute to my relief, that if I were thirsty, I drank the sweeter draught; and if I were hungry, I ate the coarsest meal with a double relish."

It is surely reasonable to suppose that the soft and amiable sympathy of nature, thus spontaneously manifested to me in my distress, is displayed by these poor people, as occasion requires, much more strongly towards those of their own nation and neighborhood. Maternal affection, neither suppressed by the restraints, nor diverted by the solitudes of civilized life, is everywhere conspicuous among them, and creates reciprocal tenderness in the child. "Strike me," said a negro to his master, who spoke disrespectfully of his parent, "but do not curse my mother." The same sentiment I found to prevail universally.

I perceived, with great satisfaction, that the maternal solicitude extended not only to the growth and security of the person, but also, in a certain degree, to the improvement of the character; for one of the first lessons which the Mandingo women teach their children, is the practice of truth. A poor unhappy mother, whose son had been murdered by a Moorish banditti, found consolation in her deepest distress from the reflection that her boy, in the whole course of his blameless life, had never told a lie.—*Travels in Africa.*

ADANSON, who visited Senegal, in 1754, describes the negroes as sociable, obliging, humane, hospitable. "Their amiable simplicity,"

\* Or suppose a colored pedlar with valuable goods travelling in slave states, where the laws afford little or no protection to negro property, what would probably be his fate?—*En.*

says he, "in this enchanting country, recalled to me the idea of the primitive race of man; I thought I saw the world in its infancy. They are distinguished by tenderness for their parents, and a great respect for the aged." ROBIN speaks of a slave at Martinico, who having gained money sufficient for his own ransom, preferred to purchase his mother's freedom.

PROYART, in his history of Loango, acknowledges that the negroes on the coast, who associate with Europeans, are inclined to licentiousness and fraud; but he says those of the interior are humane, obliging, and hospitable. GOLBERRY repeats the same praise, and rebukes the presumption of white men in despising "nations improperly called savage, among whom we find men of integrity, models of filial, conjugal, and paternal affection, who know all the energies and refinements of virtue; among whom sentimental impressions are more deep, because they observe, more than we, the dictates of nature, and know how to sacrifice personal interest to the ties of friendship."

### ALEXANDER H. EVERETT.

Sir, we are sometimes told that all these efforts will be unavailing—that the African is a degraded member of the human family—that a man with a dark skin and curled hair, is necessarily, as such, incapable of improvement and civilization, and condemned by the vice of his physical conformation, to vegetate for ever in a state of hopeless barbarism. Mr. President, I reject, with contempt and indignation, this miserable heresy. In replying to it, the friends of truth and humanity have not hitherto done justice to the argument. In order to prove that the blacks were capable of intellectual efforts, they have painfully collected a few imperfect specimens of what some of them have done in this way, even in the degraded condition which they occupy at present in Christendom. Sir, this is not the way to treat the subject. Go back to an earlier period in the history of our race. See what the blacks were and what they did three thousand years ago, in the period of their greatness and glory, when they occupied the fore front in the march of civilization—when they constituted in fact the whole civilized world of their time. Trace this very civilization, of which we are so proud, to its origin, and see where you will find it. We received it from our European ancestors: they had it from the Greeks and Romans, and the Jews. But, Sir, where did the Greeks and the Romans and the Jews get it? They derived it from Ethiopia and Egypt,—in one word, from Africa. Moses, we are told, was instructed in all the learning of the Egyptians. The founders of the principal Grecian cities, such as Athens, Thebes, and Delphi, came from Egypt, and for centuries afterwards, their descendants returned to that country, as the source and centre of civilization. There it was that the generous and stirring spirits of the time—Herodotus, Homer, Plato, Pythagoras, and the rest, made



their noble voyages of intellectual and moral discovery, as ours now make them in England, France, Germany, and Italy. Sir, the Egyptians were the masters of the Greeks and the Jews, and consequently of all the modern nations in civilization, and they had carried it very nearly as far—in some respects, perhaps, a good deal further than any subsequent people. The ruins of the Egyptian temples laugh to scorn the architectural monuments of any other part of the world. They will be what they are now, the delight and admiration of travellers from all quarters, when the grass is growing on the sites of St. Peter's and St. Paul's,—the present pride of Rome and London.

Well, Sir, who were the Egyptians? They were Africans:—and of what race?—It is sometimes pretended, that though Africans, and of Ethiopian extraction, they were not black. But what says the father of history, who had travelled among them, and knew their appearance, as well as we know that of our neighbors in Canada? Sir, Herodotus tells you that the Egyptians were blacks, with curled hair. Some writers have undertaken to dispute his authority, but I cannot bring myself to believe that the father of history did not know black from white. It seems, therefore, that for this very civilization of which we are so proud, and which is the only ground of our present claim of superiority, we are indebted to the ancestors of these very blacks, whom we are pleased to consider as naturally incapable of civilization.

So much for the supposed inferiority of the colored race, and their incapacity to make any progress in civilization and improvement. And it is worth while, Mr. President, to remark, that the prejudice which is commonly entertained in this country, but which does not exist to any thing like the same extent in Europe, against the color of the blacks, seems to have grown out of the unnatural position which they occupy among us. At the period to which I have just alluded, when the blacks took precedence of the whites in civilization, science, and political power, no such prejudice appears to have existed. The early Greek writers speak of the Ethiopians and Egyptians as a superior variety of the species:—superior, not merely in intellectual and moral qualities, but what may seem to be much more remarkable, in outward appearance. The Ethiopians, says Herodotus, excel all other nations in longevity, stature, and personal beauty. The black prince, Memnon, who served among the Trojan auxiliaries at the siege of Troy, (probably an Egyptian prince) is constantly spoken of by the Greek and Latin writers, as a person of extraordinary beauty, and is qualified as the son of Aurora, or the morning. There are, in short, no traces of any prejudice, whatever, against the color of the blacks, like that which has grown up in modern times, and which is obviously the result of the relative condition of the two races. This prejudice forms at present, as was correctly observed by President Madison, in one of his speeches in the late Virginia Convention, the chief obstacle to the practical improvement of the condition of that portion of them who reside in this country.—*Speech at Massachusetts Colonization Society, Feb. 7, 1831.*

## REV. R. WALSH.

I had been but a few hours on shore (at Rio Janeiro) for the first time, and I saw an African negro under four aspects of society; and it appeared to me, that in every one, his character depended on the state in which he was placed, and the estimation in which he was held. As a despised slave, he was far lower than other animals of burden that surrounded him; more miserable in his look, more revolting in his nakedness, more distorted in his person, and apparently more deficient in intellect, than the horses and mules that passed him by. Advanced to the grade of a soldier, he was clean and neat in his person, amenable to discipline, expert at his exercises, and showed the port and bearing of a white man similarly placed. As a citizen, he was remarkable for the respectability of his appearance, and the decorum of his manners in the rank assigned him; and as a priest, standing in the house of God, appointed to instruct society on their most important interests, and in a grade in which moral and intellectual fitness is required, and a certain degree of superiority is expected, he seemed even more devout in his impressions, and more correct in his manners, than his white associates. I came, therefore, to the irresistible conclusion in my mind, that color was an accident affecting the surface of a man, and having no more to do with his qualities than his clothes—that God had equally created an African in the image of his person, and equally given him an immortal soul; and that a European had no pretext but his own cupidity, for impiously thrusting his fellow man from that rank in the creation which the Almighty had assigned him, and degrading him below the lot of the brute beasts that perish.—*Notes on Brazil.*

## ARCHBISHOP SHARP,

The grandfather of Granville Sharp, in a sermon preached before the British House of Commons, one hundred and fifty-six years ago, used the following remarkable language:

"That Africa, which is not now more fruitful of monsters, than it was once for excellently wise and learned men,—that Africa, which formerly afforded us our *Clemens*, our *Origen*, our *Tertullian*, our *Cyprian*, our *Augustin*, and many other extraordinary lights in the Church of God,—that famous Africa, in whose soil, Christianity did thrive so prodigiously, and could boast of so many flourishing churches,—alas! is now a wilderness. "The wild boars have broken into the vineyard, and ate it up, and it brings forth nothing but briars and thorns," to use the words of the prophet. And who knows but God may suddenly make this church and nation, this our England, which, Jeshurun-like, is waxed fat and grown proud, and has kicked against God, such another example of vengeance of this kind."

## R. R. MADDEN.

Some of the finest forms I ever beheld were those of negroes ; and had I been desirous of representing the beauty of the human figure, I have seen negroes from Darfur, the symmetry of whose persons might have served for a standard ; neither does the observation apply to the intellect of the blacks.

When the negro troops were first brought down to Alexandria, nothing could exceed their insubordination and wild demeanor ; but they learned the military evolutions in half the time of the Arabs, and I always observed they went through the manœuvres with ten times the adroitness of the others. It is the fashion here as well as in our colonies, to consider the negroes as the last link in the chain of humanity, between the monkey tribe and man, but I do not believe the negro is inferior to the white man in intellect ; and I do not suffer the eloquence of the slave driver to convince me that the negro is so stultified as to be unfit for freedom.—*Travels in Turkey, Egypt, and Nubia, &c.*

## MR. DUPUIS.

British Consul at Mogadore, says of the *whites* in slavery under the Moors :

“ If they have been any considerable time in slavery, they appear lost to reason and to feeling—their spirits are broken; and their faculties sunken in a species of stupor, which I am unable to describe. They appear degraded even below the negro slave. The succession of hardships, without any protecting law to which they can appeal for alleviation or redress, seems to destroy every species of exertion or hope in their minds. They appear indifferent to every thing around them ; abject, servile, and brutish.”

## A CITIZEN OF THE WORLD.

The sum of five thousand pounds sterling, stands invested for the mutual benefit of two very excellent institutions in London—the Magdalen Asylum and the Foundling Hospital. It was bequeathed to them by one OMICHAND, a *black merchant* in Calcutta, who left many equally liberal donations to other charitable institutions in all parts of the world.

ANOTHER.—A poor negro walking towards Deptford, Eng., saw by the road side an old sailor of a different complexion, with but one arm and two wooden legs. The worthy African immediately took three halfpence and a farthing, his little all, from the side-pocket of

his tattered trousers, and forced them into the sailor's hand, while he wiped the tears from his eye with the corner of his blue patched jacket, and then walked away quite happy.—*Sholto and Reuben Percy's Anecdotes.*

## TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE.

CITIZEN CONSUL,—Your letter, of the 27th Brumaire, has been transmitted to me by Citizen Le Clerc, your brother-in-law, whom you have appointed *Captain General* of this island, a title not recognised by the constitution of St. Domingo. The same messenger has restored two innocent children to the fond embraces of a doating father. What a noble instance of European humanity! But, dear as those pledges are to me, and painful as our separation is, I will owe no obligations to my enemies, and I therefore return them to the custody of their jailers.

You ask me, do I desire consideration, honors, and fortune? Most certainly I do, but not of thy giving. My consideration is placed in the respect of my countrymen, my honors in their attachment, my fortune in their disinterested fidelity. Has this *mean* idea of personal aggrandizement been held out in the hope that I would be induced thereby to betray the cause I have undertaken? The power I possess has been as *legitimately* acquired as your own, and nought but the decided voice of the people of St. Domingo shall compel me to relinquish it.

It is not cemented by blood, or maintained by the artifices of European policy. "The ferocious men whose persecutions I put a stop to," have confessed my clemency, and I have pardoned the wretch whose dagger has been aimed at my life. If I have removed from this island certain turbulent spirits, who strove to feed the flames of civil war, their guilt has been first established before a competent tribunal, and finally confessed by themselves. Is there one of them who can say that he has been condemned *unheard* or *unried*? And yet these monsters are to be brought back once more, and, aided by the bloodhounds of Cuba, are to be uncoupled and hallooed to hunt us down and devour us; and this by men who dare to call themselves *Christians*.—*Letter to Bonaparte, 1803.*

"He was born a slave in St. Domingo, 1745. In his youth he was noted for his benevolence and tender feeling towards brutes, and his stability of temper. By assiduity he learnt to read, write and cipher, this, and his regular and amiable deportment, gained the esteem of his master, whom he saved in the revolution of 1791. That he never broke his word was proverbial. His unlimited power he never abused. The French general, being unable to corrupt, abducted him to a dungeon in France, where he perished in 1803."—*History of Hayti.*

Godwin, in his admirable Lectures on Colonial Slavery, says: "Can the West India Islands, since their first discovery by Colum-

but, boast a single name which deserves comparison with that of Toussaint L'Ouverture?" He is there spoken of by Vincent in his *Reflections on the State of St. Domingo*: "Toussaint L'Ouverture is the most active and indefatigable man, of whom it is possible to form an idea. He is always present wherever difficulty or danger makes his presence necessary. His great sobriety,—the power of living without repose,—the facility with which he resumes the affairs of the cabinet, after the most tiresome excursions,—of answering daily a hundred letters,—and of habitually tiring five secretaries—render him so superior to all around him, that their respect and submission almost amount to fanaticism. It is certain no man in modern times has obtained such an influence over a mass of ignorant people, as General Toussaint possesses over his brethren of St. Domingo. He is endowed with a prodigious memory. He is a good father and a good husband."

Thou hast left behind  
Powers that will work for thee; air, earth and skies;  
There's not a breathing of the common wind  
That will forget thee; thou hast great allies.  
Thy friends are exultations, agonies,  
And love, and man's unconquerable mind.

WORDSWORTH.

### PHILLIS WHEATLEY.

Hail, happy day! when, smiling like the morn,  
Fair Freedom rose, New England to adorn:  
The northern clime, beneath her genial ray,  
Dartmouth! congratulates thy blissful sway;  
Elate with hope, her race no longer mourns,  
Each soul expands, each grateful bosom burns.  
While in thine hand with pleasure we behold  
The silken reins, and Freedom's charms unfold.  
Long lost to realms beneath the northern skies,  
She shines supreme, while hated faction dies:  
Soon as appeared the Goddess long desired,  
Sick at the view she languished and expired;  
Thus from the splendors of the morning light  
The owl in sadness seeks the caves of night.

No more, America, in mournful strain,  
Of wrongs and grievance unredressed complain:  
No longer shall thou dread the iron chain  
Which wanton Tyranny, with lawless hand,  
Had made, and with it meant t' enslave the land.

Should you, my lord, while you peruse my song,  
Wonder from whence my love of Freedom sprung,  
Whence flow these wishes for the common good,  
By feeling hearts alone best understood,  
I, young in life, by seeming cruel fate  
Was snatched from Afric's fancied happy seat:  
What pangs excruciating must molest,  
What sorrows labor in my parent's breast!

Stealed was that soul, and by no misery moved,  
That from a father seized his babe beloved:  
Such, such my case. And can I then but pray  
Others may never feel thy annie sway?

For favors past, great Sir, our thanks are due,  
And thee we ask thy favors to renew,  
Since in thy power, as in thy will before,  
To soothe the griefs which thou didst once deplore.  
May heavenly grace the sacred sanction give  
To all thy works, and thou for ever live,  
Not only on the wings of fleeting Fame,  
Though praise immortal crowns the patriot's name,  
But to conduct to heaven's refulgent fane,  
May fiery coursers sweep the ethereal plain,  
And bear thee upwards to that blest abode,  
Where, like the prophet, thou shalt find thy God.

*Inscribed to William, Earl of Dartmouth.*

## AUSTRIA.

Extract from the ordinance of his Imperial and Royal Majesty of Austria, dated 25th June, 1826.

"In order to prevent Austrian subjects and vassals from participating in any manner in the slave-trade, and in order to prevent slaves from bad treatment, his Imperial and Royal Majesty, in conformity with the existing laws of Austria (viz. section 16 of the Civil Code, which determines that every human being, in virtue of those rights which are recognised by *reason*, is to be considered a civil person, and that, therefore, slavery, and every exercise of power relative to the state of slavery, are not tolerated in the imperial and royal dominions,) and further, in conformity with section 78 of the first part of the Penal Code, which declares every hindrance of the exercise of personal liberty a crime of public violence—has been graciously pleased, by his sovereign resolution of 25th June, 1826, to determine and order as follows:—Art. 1. Any slave, from the moment he treads on the soil of the Imperial and Royal Dominions of Austria, or even merely steps on board of an Austrian vessel, shall be free."

Austrian Consulate General, New York, Oct. 18, 1830.

L. LEDERER

## RUSSIA.

**CONSULAR NOTICE.**—Certain individuals who, in defiance of the laws of their own country, still continue to engage in the African slave-trade, having given cause for suspicion that they intend to make use of the Russian flag as a protection against the right of search and seizure, mutually assumed and conceded by the powers participating in the treaty for the suppression of this nefarious traffic, the undersigned, the Russian Consul General, at New York, being specially

instructed by his government, gives hereby public notice to all persons whom it may concern, that the Russian flag can in no case be resorted to without the previous permission of the Imperial Government, and without legal authorization in due form, and in strict accordance with the laws of the empire; that any proceeding to the contrary shall be considered as a *fraud*, exposing the persons guilty of it to all its consequences; and that no slave-trader, in any circumstances whatever, when seized under the Russian flag, or otherwise, can invoke the aid of the Imperial Government to screen him from just and well-merited punishment.

Russe du Consulate General, New York, April 2, 1836.

ALEXIS EUSTAPHIEVE.

## HISTORICAL EVIDENCE,

### *Concerning the Effects of Immediate Emancipation.*

WHEN the question of immediate abolition was first started in England, the friends of slavery vociferated nothing more loudly, than the danger of universal insurrection and bloodshed; and nothing took stronger hold of the sympathies and conscientious fears of the people, than these repeated assertions. This is precisely the state of things in our own country, at the present time. We all know that it is not according to human nature for men to turn upon their benefactors, and do violence, at the very moment they receive what they have long desired; but we are so repeatedly told the slaves *will* murder their masters, if they give them freedom, that we can hardly help believing that, in this peculiar case, the laws of human nature *must* be reversed. Let us try to divest ourselves of the fierce excitement now abroad in the community, and calmly inquire what is the testimony of history on this important subject.

In June, 1793, a civil war occurred between the aristocrats and republicans of St. Domingo; and the planters cried in the aid of Great Britain. The opposing party proclaimed freedom to all slaves, and armed them against the British. It is generally supposed that the abolition of slavery in St. Domingo was in consequence of *insurrections* among the slaves; but this is not true. *It was entirely a measure of political expediency.* And what were the consequences of this sudden and universal emancipation? Whoever will take the pains to search the histories of that island, will find the whole colored population remained faithful to the republican party which had given them freedom. The British were defeated, and obliged to evacuate the island. The sea being at that time full of British cruisers, the French had no time to attend to St. Domingo, and the colonists were left to govern themselves. And what was the conduct of the emancipated slaves, under these circumstances? About 500,000 slaves had instantaneously ceased to be property, and were invested with the rights of men; yet there was a decrease of crime, and every thing went on quietly and prosperously. Col. Malenfant, who resided on the island, says, in his historical memoir: "After this public act of emancipation, the negroes remained quiet both in the south and west, and they continued to work upon all the plantations. Even upon those estates which had been abandoned by owners and managers, the negroes continued their labor where there were any agents to guide; and where no white men were left to direct them, they betook themselves to planting provisions. The colony was flourishing. The whites lived happy and in peace upon their estates, and the negroes continued to work for them."

General Lacroix, in his memoirs, speaking of the same period, says: "The colony marched as by enchantment towards its ancient splendor; cultivation prospered; every day produced perceptible proofs of its progress."

This prosperous state of things lasted about eight years; and would probably have continued to this day, had not Bonaparte, at the instigation of the old aristocratic French planters, sent an army to deprive the blacks of the freedom which

they had used so well. It was the attempt to restore slavery, that produced all the bloody horrors of St. Domingo. *Emancipation produced the most blessed effects.*

In June, 1794, Victor Hugo, a French republican general, retook the island of Guadeloupe from the British, and immediately proclaimed freedom to all the slaves. They were 85,000 in number, and the whites only 13,000. *No disasters whatever occurred in consequence of this step.* Seven years after, the supreme council of Guadeloupe, in an official document, alluding to the tranquillity that reigned throughout the island, observed: "We shall have the satisfaction of giving an example which will prove that all classes of people may live in perfect harmony with each other, under an administration which secures justice to all classes." In 1802, Bonaparte again reduced this island to slavery, at the cost of about 20,000 negro lives.

On the 10th of October, 1811, the congress of Chili decreed that every child born after that day should be free.

In 1821, the congress of Colombia emancipated all slaves who had borne arms in favor of the republic; and provided for the emancipation in eighteen years of the whole slave population, amounting to 900,000.

In September, 1829, the government of Mexico granted immediate and unqualified freedom to every slave. *In all these cases, not one instance of insurrection or bloodshed has ever been heard of, as the result of emancipation.*

In July, 1823, 30,000 Hottentots in Cape Colony, were emancipated from their long and cruel bondage, and admitted by law to all the rights and privileges of the white colonists. Outrages were predicted, as the inevitable consequence of freeing human creatures so completely brutalized as the poor Hottentots; but all went on peaceably; and as a gentleman facetiously remarked, "Hottentots as they were, they worked better for Mr. Cash, than they had ever done for Mr. Lash."

In the South African Commercial Advertiser of February, 1831, it is stated: "Three thousand prize negroes have received their freedom; four hundred in one day; but not the least difficulty or disaster occurred. *Servants found masters—masters hired servants—all gained homes, and at night scarcely an idler was to be seen.*—To state that sudden emancipation would create disorder and distress to those you mean to serve, is not reason, but the plea of all men adverse to abolition."

On the 1st of August, 1834, the government of Great Britain emancipated the slaves in all her colonies, of which she had twenty; seventeen in the West Indies, and three in the East Indies. The measure was not carried in a manner completely satisfactory to the English abolitionists. Historical evidence, and their own knowledge of human nature, led them to the conclusion that immediate and unqualified emancipation was the *safest* for the master, as well as the most just towards the slave. But the West India planters talked so loudly of the dangers of such a step, and of the necessity of time to fit the slaves for freedom, that the government resolved to conciliate them by a sort of compromise. The slaves were to continue to work six years longer without wages, under the name of apprentices; but during this period, they could be punished only by the express orders of the magistrates.

The legislatures of the several colonies had a right to dispense with the system of apprenticeship; but Antigua and Bermuda were the only ones that adopted immediate and unconditional emancipation.

Public proclamation of freedom was made on the first of August, and was every where received in joy and peace. Mr. Cobbett, a missionary stationed at Montego Bay, Jamaica, writes thus: "The first of August was a memorable day! Our preaching place was crowded at an early hour. At the close of the service, I read the address of his excellency the governor to the negro population, made several remarks in reference to the change of their condition, and exhorted them to be obedient to their masters and to the powers that be. There was in every countenance an expression of satisfaction, and of gratitude to God and their benefactors. The conduct of the negroes during this eventful period has been such as will raise them, I should think, in the eyes of all their friends."

Mr. Wedlock, of the same place, writes thus on the 13th of August: "The first day of August, a day to which the attention of the wise, the good, and the philanthropic, of other countries besides our own, was directed, has arrived and passed by in the most peaceful and harmonious manner. Such congregations, such attention, such joys and grateful feelings as are depicted in every countenance, I never beheld!—Up to this time, peace and harmony prevail."



The Marquis of Sligo, governor of Jamaica, in his speech to the assembly, after five months' trial of emancipation, declares: "Not the slightest idea of any interruption of tranquillity exists in any quarter; and those preparations which I have felt it my duty to make, might, without the slightest danger, have been dispensed with." In a recent address to the assembly, he states that the crops this year, (1835) will fall short only about one sixteenth; and that this slight difference may be accounted for by the unfavorableness of the season.

The enemies of abolition predicted that the crops in Jamaica, would perish for want of being gathered; because the negroes could not possibly be induced to work an hour longer than the law or the whip compelled them. But as seen as the planters offered them *wages* for working extra hours, more work was offered than the planters were willing to pay for. Even the low price of a penny an hour, operated like magic upon them, and inspired them to diligence!

The numerical superiority of the negroes in the West Indies is great. In Jamaica there were 331,000 slaves, and only 37,000 whites. By the clumsy apprenticeship system, the old stimulus of the whip was taken away, while the new and better stimulus of wages was not applied. The negroes were aware that if they worked well they should not be paid for it, and that if they worked ill they could not be flogged, as they had formerly been. Yet even under these disadvantageous circumstances, no difficulties occurred except in three of the islands; and even there the difficulties were slight and temporary. Let us inquire candidly how these troubles originated. The act of parliament provided, that the apprentice should work for his master *forty and a half* hours per week, and have the remainder of the time for his own benefit; but it did not provide that while they were apprentices (and of course worked without wages) they should enjoy all the privileges to which they had been accustomed while slaves. The planters availed themselves of this circumstance to put obstructions in the way of abolition; with the hope likewise of coercing the apprentices to form individual contracts to work *fifty* hours in the week, instead of *forty and a half*. While the people had been slaves, they had always been allowed *cooks* to prepare their meals; *nurses* to take care of the little children; and a person to bring *water* to the gang, during the hot hours; but when they became apprentices, these privileges were taken away. Each slave was obliged to quit his or her work to go to his own cabin (sometimes a great distance) to cook their meals, instead of having them served in the field; water was not allowed them; the aged and infirm, instead of being employed as formerly, to superintend the children in the shade, were driven to labor in the hot sun, and mothers were obliged to toil at the hoe with their infants strapped at their backs. In addition to this, the planters obtained from the governor a new proclamation, requiring the apprentices to labor extra hours for their masters, when they should deem it necessary in the *cultivation, gathering, or manufacture of the crop*, provided they repaid them an equal time "at a convenient season of the year." This was like taking from a New-England farmer the month of July to be repaid in January. Under these petty vexations, and unjust exactions, some of the apprentices stopt work in three of the colonies, out of seventeen. But even in these three, their resistance was merely passive. **THE WORST ENEMIES OF ABOLITION HAVE NOT YET BEEN ABLE TO SHOW THAT A SINGLE DROP OF BLOOD HAS BEEN SHED, OR A SINGLE PLANTATION FIRED, IN CONSEQUENCE OF EMANCIPATION, IN ALL THE BRITISH WEST INDIES!**

In Jamaica they refused to work upon the terms which their masters endeavored to impose. A very small military force was sent into one parish, and but on one occasion. Not a drop of blood was shed on either side.

In Demerara they refused to work on the prescribed terms, and marched about with a flagstaff, as "the ten hour men" have done in many of our cities. But the worst thing they did was to strike a constable with their fists.

In St. Christopher's the resistance was likewise entirely passive. In two weeks the whole trouble was at an end; and it was ascertained that, out of twenty thousand apprentices, only *thirty* were absent from work; and some of these were supposed to be dead in the woods.

One apprentice, executed in Demerara for insubordination, is the only life that has yet been lost in this great experiment! and a few *fifty-cuffs* with a constable, on one single occasion, has been the only violence offered to persons or property, by eight hundred thousand emancipated slaves.

Antigua and Bermuda did not try the apprenticeship system; but at once gave the slaves the stimulus of wages. In those islands not the slightest difficulties have occurred. The journals of Antigua say: "The great devil is solved; and the highest hopes of the negroes' friends are fulfilled. Thirty thousand men have passed from slavery into freedom, not only without the slightest irregularity, but with the solemn and decorous tranquillity of a Sabbath!"

In Antigua there are 2,000 whites, 30,000 slaves, and 4,500 free blacks.

Antigua and St. Christopher's are within gunshot of each other; both are sugar growing colonies; and the proportion of blacks is less in St. Christopher's than it is in Antigua: yet the former island has had some difficulty with the gradual system, while the quiet of the latter has not been disturbed for one hour by immediate emancipation. Do not these facts speak volumes?

There are, in the West Indies, many men, (planters, overseers, drivers, and book-keepers,) who, from pride, licentiousness, and other motives, do not like a change which takes away from them uncontrolled power over men and women. These individuals try to create difficulties, and exaggerate the report of them. It is much to be regretted that the American press has hitherto preferred their distorted stories, unsubstantiated by a particle of proof, to the well-authenticated evidence of magistrates and missionaries resident on the islands.

Why are the friends of slavery so desirous to make it appear that the British experiment does not work well? It is because they are conscious that if it *does* work well, America has no excuse left to screen her from the strong disapprobation of the civilized world.—*New-York Evening Post*.

## ST. DOMINGO.

Slaveholders and Colonizationists have long delighted to appeal to St. Domingo, as a triumphant proof that free negroes *won't work*, and of course, as a triumphant argument against emancipation. Now, it so happens, that notwithstanding our negro hatred, we have a pretty extensive commerce with "the idle and worthless population" of St. Domingo, to use the language of Col. Stone, and it so happens that this idle and worthless population are among our best customers.

In most other countries we have ministers, or at least consuls to watch over the interests of our merchants; but to send a minister or consul to St. Domingo would be so revolting to the feelings of our southern brethren, that they would probably *threaten* to dissolve the Union, and so our merchants are left to take care of their own interests there. It may be useful to compare the *amount* of those interests with the amount of their interests in certain other countries, where we have consuls, and in some instances ministers.

The following comparative view is taken from a statement of the value of the imports and exports of the United States, for the year ending 30th September, 1835, recently laid before Congress by the Secretary of the Treasury:

	Exports to.	Imports from.
HAYTI,	\$1,815,812	\$2,347,556
Prussia,	55,745	38,543
Russia,	585,447	2,395,245
Sweden and Norway,	516,238	1,285,178
Denmark,	323,300	121,000
Dutch East Indies,	1,444,290	600,388
Belgium,	748,222	341,967

	Exports to.	Imports from.
Ireland,	403,604	542,808
British East Indies,	754,058	1,697,693
Spain,	665,961	1,295,678
Portugal,	270,305	547,074
Italy,	285,941	1,457,977
Swedish West Indies,	86,355	31,330
Danish West Indies,	1,457,196	1,283,909
Dutch West Indies,	481,340	403,542
British West Indies,	1,152,347	1,838,227

It thus appears that of all the above countries, the one inhabited by free negroes buys the most from us, and with the exception of Russia, sells the most to us. Surely, this is a strange result for a people who *want work*, and for a country in which the law forbids the use of the lash. Our columns are open to any slaveholder or Colonizationist who will be so good as to explain the matter.—*New-York Emancipator*.

### JEAN PIERRE BOYER.

The President of Hayti has received, with your letter of the 10th of October last, the different publications that you have sent him.

His Excellency congratulates you on the perseverance with which you have pursued the work of abolition of slavery. The warmest desires of philanthropists accompany you in this difficult enterprise, and the President of Hayti doubts not that this holy cause will conclude by obtaining the triumph it merits.

I seize, sir, this occasion of assuring you of the particular desire I entertain for the success of your glorious work, and renew the expression of my high esteem.

B. INCINAC.

*Letter to B. Lundy, Nov. 17, 1836.*

### SIMON BOLIVAR.

I beg as fervently of my country as I would for the lives of my children, that you will never consent that class, or color, or creed, should make any distinction in your republic.—*Address to the Senators of Colombia*.

Legislators! Slavery is the infringement of all laws. A law having a tendency to preserve slavery, would be the grossest sacrilege. Man to be possessed by his fellow man!—man to be made property of! The image of the Deity to be put under the yoke! Let these usurpers show us their title-deeds!—*Address to the Legislature of Bolivia and Peru*.

"This distinguished man, who was second to none for patriotism and political philanthropy that the last dozen centuries have produced, is no more. He has left an example worthy the imitation of all slaveholders of every country and clime.

"In addition to his great and untiring efforts to break the chains of clerical and political bondage that oppressed his countrymen, he acted the part of perfect consistency in using his influence for the enfranchisement of the *African slaves*, who were there reduced to abject servility. We have been informed that, in the early stage of the Colombian revolution, he emancipated from 700 to 1,000 slaves; and that he strenuously and successfully urged the total abolition of slavery by the government. Since his death it is stated that he has freed 150 more by will, who were still held by him, and who probably preferred remaining with him while he lived.

"BENJAMIN LUNDY."

## FRANCE.

### MARSELLOISE HYMN.

With luxury and pride surrounded,  
The vile insatiate despots dare  
(Their thirst of power and gold unbounded;  
To mete and vend the light and air;  
Like beasts of burden would they load us,  
Like demons bid their slaves adore;  
But man is man, and who is more?  
Then, shall they longer lash and goad us?

O Liberty! can man resign thee,  
Once having felt thy generous flame?  
Can dungeons, bolts, or bars confine thee,  
Or whips thy noble spirit tame?  
Too long the world has wept, bewailing  
That falsehood's dagger tyrants wield;  
But freedom is our sword and shield,  
And all their arts are unavailing!

## MONTESQUIEU.

Slavery is not useful either to the master or to the slave; to the slave, because he can do nothing by virtue; to the master, because he contracts with his slaves all sorts of evil habits, inures himself insensibly to neglect every moral virtue, and becomes proud, passionate, hard-hearted, violent, voluptuous, and cruel. The slave sees a society happy, whereof he is not even a part; he finds that security is established for others, but not for him; he perceives that his master has a soul capable of self-advancement, while his own is violently and for ever repressed. Nothing puts one nearer the condition of the beasts than always to see freemen and not to be free. *Such a person is the natural enemy of the society in which he lives.*

It is impossible to allow the negroes are men, because if we allow them to be men, it will begin to be believed that we are not Christians.

## JEAN JACQUES ROUSSEAU.

This common liberty is a consequence resulting from the nature of man. His first law is that of self-preservation; his first cares those which he owes to himself; and as soon as he has attained the age of reason, he being the only judge of the means proper to preserve himself, becomes at once his own master.

If there are some who are slaves by nature, the reason is that men were at first made slaves against nature. Force made the first slaves, and slavery, by degrading and corrupting its victims, perpetuated their bondage.

Since no man has any natural authority over his equals, and since force produces no right to any, all legal authority among men must be established on the basis of convention.

To say that a man gives himself gratuitously is absurd and incomprehensible; such an act would in itself be illegal and void, because the person who performed it could not be in his proper senses. To say the same of a whole nation is to suppose the multitude are all mad; but still folly would not confer the right so vainly contended for.

A man who becomes the slave of another cannot *give*, he must *sell* himself, at least for a subsistence. But how can a people sell themselves? since, so far from a king furnishing his subjects with subsistence, he draws his *own* from them; and, according to Rabelais, a king does not subsist upon a little. Do subjects, therefore, give their persons on condition that the prince will condescend to accept their property also?

If each individual could alienate himself, he could not alienate his descendants; for being born men and free, their liberty is their own, and no person can dispose of it but themselves.

To renounce our liberty is to renounce our quality of man, and with it all the rights and duties of humanity; and no adequate compensation can possibly be made for such a sacrifice; as it is in itself incompatible with the nature of man, whose actions, when once he is deprived of his free will, must be destitute of all morality. In a word, a convention which stipulates for absolute authority on one side, and unlimited obedience on the other, must always be considered as vain and contradictory. What right can my slave have that is not mine, since every thing that he has belongs to me; and to speak of the right of me against myself is absolute nonsense.

Thus, in whatever light we view things, the right of slavery is found to be null; not only because it is illegal, but because it can have no existence; for the terms *slavery* and *right* contradict and exclude each other; and be it from man to man, or from a man to a nation, it would be equally nonsensical to say—*I make a covenant with you entirely at your expense, and for my benefit; I will observe it as far as my inclination leads me, and you shall observe it as far as I please.*—[On the Social Contract.]

## BUFFON.

Upon the whole, it is apparent that the unfortunate negroes are endowed with excellent hearts, and possess the seeds of every human virtue. I cannot write their history, without lamenting their miserable condition. Is it not more than enough to reduce men to slavery, and to oblige them to labor perpetually, without the capacity of acquiring property? To these, is it necessary to add cruelty, and blows, and to abuse them worse than brutes? Humanity revolts against those odious oppressions which result from avarice, and which would have been daily renewed, had not the laws given a friendly check to the brutality of masters, and fixed limits to the sufferings of their slaves. They are forced to labor; and yet the coarsest food is dealt out to them with a sparing hand. "They support," say their obdurate taskmasters, "hunger without inconvenience; a single European meal is sufficient provision to a negro for three days; however little they eat or sleep they are always equally strong and equally fit for labor." How can men, in whose breasts a single spark of humanity remains unextinguished, adopt such detestable maxims? How dare they by such barbarous and diabolical arguments, attempt to palliate those oppressions which originate solely from their thirst of gold? But let us abandon those hardened monsters to perpetual infamy, and return to our subject.—*Natural History.*

## H. GREGOIRE.

Philanthropists! no individual can, with impunity, be just and benevolent. At the birth of time, war commenced between virtue and vice, and will not cease but with them. Devoured with the desire to do injury, the wicked are always armed against him who dares to reveal their crimes, and prevent them from tormenting the human race. Against their guilty attempts let us oppose a wall of brass, but let us avenge ourselves by benefits. Let us be active. Life which is so long for the commission of evil actions, is short for the performance of virtue. The earth steals from under our steps, and we go to quit this terrestrial scene. The corruption of our times carries towards posterity all the elements of slavery and crime. Nevertheless, when we repose in the tomb, some honest men, escaping the contagion, will become the representatives of Providence. Let us leave to them the honorable task of defending liberty and misfortune; from the bosom of eternity we applaud their efforts, and they shall doubtless be blest by the common Father of all, who in men, whatever be their color, acknowledges his work, and loves them as his children.

There is nothing useful but what is just; there is no law of nature which makes one individual dependent on another; and all these laws, which reason disavows, have no force. Every person brings

with him into the world his title to freedom. Social conventions have circumscribed its use, but its limits ought to be the same for all the members of a community, whatever be their origin, color, or religion. If, says Price, you have a right to make another man a slave, he has a right to make you a slave; and if we have no right, says Ramsay, to sell him, no one has a right to purchase him.

May European nations, at least, expiate their crimes towards Africans. May Africans, raising their humiliated fronts, give spring to all their faculties, and rival the whites in talents and virtues only; avenging themselves by benefits and effusions of fraternal kindness, at last enjoy liberty and happiness.

If ever negroes, bursting their chains, should come (which Heaven forbid) on the European coast, to drag whites of both sexes from their families; to chain them and conduct them to Africa, and mark them with a hot iron; if whites stolen, sold, purchased by crimes, and placed under the guidance of merciless inspectors, were immediately compelled, by the stroke of the whip, to work in a climate injurious to their health, where, at the close of each day, they could have no other consolation than that of advancing another step to the tomb—no other perspective than to suffer and to die in all the anguish of despair—if devoted to misery and ignominy, they were excluded from all the privileges of society and declared legally incapable of judicial action, their testimony would not have been admitted even against the black class; if driven from the sidewalks, they were compelled to mingle with the animals in the middle of the street—if a subscription were made to have them *lashed* in a mass, and their backs, to prevent gangrene, covered with pepper and with salt—if the forfeit for killing them were but a trifling sum—if a reward were offered for apprehending those who escape from slavery—if those who escape were hunted by a pack of hounds, trained to carnage—if, blaspheming the Divinity, the blacks pretended, that by their origin they had permission of Heaven to preach passive obedience and resignation to the whites—if greedy hireling writers published, that for this reason, just reprisals may be exercised against the *rebellious* whites, and that white slaves are happy, more happy than the peasants in the bosom of Africa;—in a word, if all the arts of cunning and calumny, all the strength and fury of avarice, all the inventions of ferocity were directed against you, by a coalition of dogs, merchants, priests, kings, soldiers, and colonists, what cry of horror would resound through these countries? To express it, new epithets would be sought; a crowd of writers, and particularly of poets, would exhaust their eloquent lamentations, provided that having nothing to fear, there was something to gain. Europeans, reverse this hypothesis, and see what you are!

Yes, I repeat it, there is not a vice, not a species of wickedness, of which Europe is not guilty towards negroes, of which she has not shown them the example. Avenging God! suspend thy thunder, exhaust thy compassion, in giving her time and courage to repair, if possible, these horrors and atrocities.—*Faculties of Negroes.*

## THE ABBE RAYNAL.

Will it be said that he, who wants to make me a slave, does me no injury, but that he only makes use of his rights? Where are those rights? Who hath stamped upon them so sacred a character as to silence mine?

He, who supports the system of slavery, is the enemy of the whole human race. He divides it into two societies of legal assassins; the oppressors, and the oppressed. It is the same thing as proclaiming to the world, if you would preserve your life, instantly take away mine, for I want to have yours.

But the negroes, they say, are a race born for slavery; their dispositions are narrow, treacherous, and wicked; they themselves allow the superiority of our understandings, and almost acknowledge the justice of our authority. Yes; the minds of the negroes are contracted, because slavery destroys all the springs of the soul. They are wicked, but not equally so with you. They are treacherous, because they are under no obligation to speak truth to their tyrants. They acknowledge the superiority of our understandings, because we have abused their ignorance. They allow the justice of our authority, because we have abused their weakness.

I shall not be afraid to cite to the tribunal of reason and justice those governments, which tolerate this cruelty, or which even are not ashamed to make it the basis of their power.

## JACQUES PIERRE BRISSOT.

Why is it declared that a slave cannot be a witness against a free man. You either suppose him less true than the free man, or you suppose him differently organised. The last supposition is absurd; the other, if true, is against yourselves; for, why are they less conscientious, more corrupted and more wicked?—It is because they are slaves. The crime falls on the head of the master; and the slave is thus degraded and punished for the vice of the master.

Why do you ordain that the master should be reimbursed from the public treasury, the price of the slave, who may suffer death for crimes? If, as is easy to prove, the crimes of slaves are almost universally the fruit of their slavery, and are in proportion to the severity of their treatment, is it not absurd to recompense the master for his tyranny? When we recollect that these masters have hitherto been accustomed to consider their slaves as a species of cattle, and that the laws make the master responsible for the damages done by his cattle, does it not appear contradictory to reverse the law relative to these black cattle, when they do a mischief, for which society thinks it necessary to extirpate them? In this case, the real author of the crime, instead of paying damages, receives a reward.



The little state of Delaware has followed the example of Pennsylvania. It is mostly peopled by Quakers; instances of giving freedom are therefore numerous. In this state, famous for the wisdom of its laws, for its good faith and federal patriotism, resides that angel of peace, WARNER MIFFLIN. Like Benazet, he occupies his time in extending the opinions of his society relative to the freedom of the blacks, and the care of providing for their existence and their instruction. It is in part to his zeal that is owing the formation of a society in that state, after the model of the one at Philadelphia, for the abolition of slavery.

With the state of Delaware finishes the system of protection to the blacks. Yet there are some negroes freed in Maryland, because there are some Quakers there; and you perceive it very readily, on comparing the fields of tobacco or of Indian corn, belonging to these people, with those of others; you see how much superior the hand of a freeman is to that of a slave, in the operations of industry.

When you run over Maryland and Virginia, you conceive yourself in a different world; and you are convinced of it, when you converse with the inhabitants.

They speak not here of projects for freeing the negroes; they praise not the societies of London and America; they read not the works of Clarkson—No; the indolent masters behold with uneasiness the efforts that are making to render freedom universal.

The strongest objection lies in the character, the manners, and habits of the Virginians. They seem to enjoy the sweat of slaves. They are fond of hunting; they love the display of luxury, and disdain the idea of labor. This order of things will change when slavery shall be no more. It is not, that the work of a slave is more profitable than that of a freeman; but it is in multiplying the slaves, condemning them to a miserable nourishment, in depriving them of clothes, and in running over a large quantity of land with a negligent culture, that they supply the deficiency of honest industry.

In the South, the blacks are in a state of abjection difficult to describe; many of them are naked, ill fed, lodged in miserable huts, on straw. They receive no education, no instruction in any kind of religion; they are not married, but coupled; thus they are brutalized. Every thing in Maryland and Virginia wears the print of slavery; a starved soil, bad cultivation, houses falling to ruin, cattle small and few, and black walking skeletons; in a word, you see real misery, and apparent luxury, insulting each other.

*"God has created men of all nations, of all languages, of all colors, equally free; Slavery, in all its forms, in all its degrees, is a violation of the Divine laws; and a degradation of human nature."*

[Travels in the United States, 1788.]

## JONATHAN SWIFT.

ABI VIATOR,  
ET IMITARE, SI POTERIS,  
STRENUUM PRO VIRILI LIBERTATIS VINDICEM.  
(GO TRAVELLER,  
AND IMITATE, IF YOU CAN,  
A STRENUOUS ADVOCATE OF HUMAN LIBERTY.)

*From the Epitaph of Dean Swift,  
Written by himself, and engraved on his monument in St.  
Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin.*

## LAURENCE STERNE.

Disguise thyself as thou wilt, still, Slavery, still thou art a bitter draught! and though thousands in all ages have been made to drink of thee, thou art no less bitter on that account.—'Tis thou, thrice sweet and gracious goddess, LIBERTY! whom all in public or in private worship, whose taste is grateful, and ever will be so, till NATURE herself shall change—no tint of words can spot thy snowy mantle, or chymic power turn thy sceptre into iron—with thee to smile upon him as he eats his crust, the swain is happier than his monarch, from whose court thou art exiled.—Gracious heaven! grant me but health, thou great Bestower of it, and give me but this fair goddess as my companion.

"A negro has a soul, an' please your honor," said the Corporal, (*doubtfully*.)

"I am not much versed, Corporal," quoth my Uncle Toby, "In things of that kind; but I suppose God would not leave him without one any more than thee or me."

"It would be putting one sadly over the head of the other," quoth the Corporal.

"It would so," said my Uncle Toby.

"Why then, an' please your honor, is a black man to be used worse than a white one?"

"I can give no reason," said my Uncle Toby.

"Only," cried the Corporal, shaking his head, "because he has no one to stand up for him."

"It is that very thing, Trim," quoth my Uncle Toby, "which recommends him to protection."—*Tristram Shandy.*

## JOHN PHILPOT CURRAN.

"UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION!" I speak in the spirit of the British Law, which makes liberty commensurate with, and inseparable from, the British soil—which proclaims, even to the stranger and the sojourner, the moment he sets his foot upon British earth, that the ground on which he treads is holy, and consecrated by the genius of Universal Emancipation. No matter in what language his doom may have been pronounced; no matter what complexion incompatible with freedom, an Indian or an African sun may have burnt upon him; no matter in what disastrous battle his liberty may have been cloven down; no matter with what solemnities he may have been devoted upon the altar of slavery; the first moment he touches the sacred soil of Britain, the altar and the god sink together in the dust; his soul walks abroad in her own majesty; his body swells beyond the measure of his chains, that burst from around him, and he stands redeemed, regenerated, and disenthralled, by the irresistible Genius of UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION!

## HENRY GRATTAN.

Liberty—and is this subject a matter of indifference?—Liberty, which, like the Deity, is an essential spirit best known by its consequences—liberty, which now animates you in your battles by sea and land, and lifts you up proudly superior to your enemies—liberty, that glorious spark and emanation of the Divinity, which fired your ancestors, and taught them to feel like an Hampden, that it was not life, but the condition of living! An Irishman sympathizes in these noble sentiments—wherever he goes—to whatever quarter of the earth he journeys—whatever wind blows his poor garments, let him but have the pride, the glory, *the ostentation of liberty!*

## MARIA EDGEWORTH.

Are we disposed to pity the slave-merchant, who, urged by the maniacal desire for gold, hears, unmoved, the groans of his fellow-creatures, the execrations of mankind, and that "small still voice," which haunts those who are stained with blood?—*Practical Education.*

Granting it to be physically impossible that the world should exist without rum and sugar and indigo, why could they not be produced by freemen as well as by slaves? If we hired negroes for laborers, instead of purchasing them for slaves, do you think they would not work as well as now? Does any negro, under the fear of the over-

seer, work harder than a Birmingham journeyman, or a Newcastle collier; who toil for themselves and their families?

The law, in our case, seems to make the right; and the very reverse ought to be done; the right should make the law.

### THOMAS MOORE.

Wearily every bosom pineth,  
Wearily oh! wearily oh!  
Where the chain of slavery twineth,  
Wearily oh! wearily oh!  
There the warrior's dart  
Hath no flectness,  
There the maiden's heart  
Hath no sweetness.  
Every flower of life declineth,  
Wearily oh! wearily oh!  
Wearily—wearily—wearily—  
Wearily—wearily—wearily oh!  
Wearily oh! wearily oh!

Who can, with patience, for a moment see  
The medley mass of pride and misery,  
Of whips and charters, manacles and rights,  
Of slaving blacks and democratic whites,  
And all the piebald policy that reigns  
In free confusion o'er Columbia's plains?  
To think that man,—thou just and gentle God,  
Should stand before thee with a tyrant's rod,  
O'er creatures like himself, with souls from thee,  
Yet dare to boast of perfect liberty!!

Away! away! I'd rather hold my neck  
By despotic tenure from a Sultan's beck,  
In climes where liberty has scarce been nam'd,  
Nor any right, but that of ruling claim'd,  
Than thus to live, where boasted Freedom waves  
Her fustian flag in mockery over slaves;—  
Where motley laws, (admitting no degree  
Betwixt the lively slav'd and madly free,)  
Alike the bondage and the license suit,—  
The brute made ruler, and the man made brute!

### DANIEL O'CONNELL.

To proceed, however, to the case of America. He had often longed to go there in reality; but so long as that country was tarnished by the continuance of slavery, he would never pollute his foot by treading on its shores. (Loud applause.) In the course of his parliamentary duty, he had lately felt it necessary to arraign the conduct of the despot of the north, for his cruelty to the men, women, and children of Poland; but, although he hated him with as much

hatred as one Christian man could hate another, viz. he detested his actions, yet he confessed that there was a climax to his hatred. He would adopt the language of the poet, but reverse the imagery, and say,

"In the deepest hell there is a depth still more profound,"

and that was to be found in the conduct of the American slave-owners. He rejoiced that upon the wings of the press, the voice of so humble an individual as himself would pass against the western breeze, and would reach the rivers, the lakes, the mountains, and the glens of America, and that the friends of liberty there would sympathize with him, and rejoice that in England he tore down the image of slavery from the recreant hand of America, and condemned her as the vilest hypocrite, the greatest of liars. (Loud applause.) An American gentleman called upon him that morning, and he (Mr. O'C.) asked him, with some anxiety, what part of America he came from? to which the gentleman replied, from Boston. He then shook hands with him, and congratulated him that that state had never been tarnished with slavery; but added, that he should be sorry to be contaminated by the touch of a man from states where slavery was continued. The gentleman then said that he was no advocate of slavery, but if he (Mr. O'C.) would permit him, he would discuss the question with him. He (Mr. O'C.) replied, that if a man were to propose to him a discussion on picking pockets, he should turn him out of his study, lest he should carry his theory into practice—(laughter)—but he would as soon discuss that question as the propriety of negro slavery. The man who stole his purse stole trash; but he who thought he could vindicate the possession of one human being by another—the selling of soul and body—the separation of a father from his offspring, or the mother from the infant she had reared—was a man whom he would not answer with words, nor with blows, because the time for the latter had not yet arrived. (Cheers.) A lie was stamped on the American constitution; for when a parliament of boroughmongers in Westminster thought to put their long fingers across the Atlantic into the pockets of the Americans, and take out as much as they pleased, the Americans turned round and appealed to justice; and when they laid the foundation of their liberty, they began by saying, "We hold these truths to be self-evident—that all men are born free and equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, and that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." But the man who could not vote in the assembly of the nation without admitting the declaration he had just quoted, had the atrocious, the murderous injustice to hold his brother man in slavery. (Cheers.) The Americans must abolish slavery, or call a general convention of the states to blot out the first sentence of their declaration of independence, otherwise they would write themselves down liars. He formerly, however, had some consolation, even when he thought of the continuation of slavery in America. He thought there were men employed there in mitigating

the evil, and establishing the principle of universal emancipation. He heard of the colony of Liberia; he read puffa of it in the newspapers; and he saw, day after day, declarations of its importance towards liberating the slave. He was waited upon by grave persons, who appeared to detest slavery as much as he did himself, and they informed him that the establishment of that colony would be the destruction of slavery. He took them at their word, and was glad to have another corps in the cause of humanity. He had not read the real history nor the real character of the colony, but he had been enlightened by what he had heard that day; and he would read to the meeting one quotation from the third volume of the "African Repository," page 107, that they might be enlightened also:—"It is no abolition society; it addresses as yet arguments to no master." What harm would it have been to argue with the master? What an admirable society the Colonization Society must be, that would not, for fear of offending the gentility of the master, tell him that he ought not to have a slave! Yet this was an institution which had come before the British public professing to be an instrument of humanity. "And disavows, with horror, the idea of offering temptations to any slave"—temptations to be free—to have a right to go with his wife and family where he pleased—to work for whom he pleased, and not for any body else. (Cheers.) O! the negro, who toiled from the rising sun to sun-down—who labored in the cultivation of a crop he would never reap—who came home weary, and faint, and disheartened, and heart-sick, to find in his little hut creatures that were to run in the same career—would they not tell him of a period when his toil should be at an end? O no, not a word! (Cheers.) "Offering temptations to any slave." It denies the design of attempting emancipation! Humble as he was, and feeble as his voice might be, yet deafening the sound of the westerly ware, and riding against the blast as thunder did, it should reach America; and tell the black man that the time of his emancipation was come, and the oppressor; that the period of his injustice was terminated. "It denies the design of attempting emancipation, either partial or general;"—that was the society they were called upon to support. Was he right in asking the meeting to disclaim the agent of that society?—*Speech in London on the subject of African Colonization, July, 1833.*

Mr. O'Connell then congratulated the friends of freedom on the unity of sentiment that bound them together in the holy cause in which they were engaged. Whatever differences of religious belief, continued he, might exist among them, these were left to that God who alone could determine which of them was right. But all would agree with him, that of "these three things, Faith, Hope, and Charity, the greatest was Charity." (Cheers.) Animated by that principle, they had joined their exertions, and had been already so far successful. He trusted that their phalanx would become yet more close and serried, as they pressed forward in the struggle, and that they would still advance till they secured the full fruits of their victory in unqua-

lified emancipation. (Cheers.) And when this shall have been accomplished, let them come with another broadside on the United States of America. (Laughter.) He had, himself, given the Americans two or three good hard thumps; for which they had paid him wages in abuse and scurrility. He was satisfied that they had done so. He was accustomed to receive such wages in return for his labors. He had never done good but he was vilified for his pains; and he felt that he could not sleep soundly were such opponents to cease abusing him. (Cheers.) He would continue to earn such wages. (Cheers.) By the blessing of God he would yet trample on the serpent of slave-owning cupidity, and triumph over the hiss of the foul reptile which marked its agony and excited his contempt. The Americans, in their conduct toward the slaves, were traitors to the cause of human liberty, foul detractors of the democratic principle which he had cherished throughout his political life, and blasphemers of that great and sacred name which they pretended to recognise. For, in their solemn league and covenant, the declaration of American Independence, they declared that all men (he used their own words) have certain "inalienable rights,"—these they defined to be, life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. To maintain these, they pledged themselves with all the solemnity of an oath, in the presence of Almighty God. That aid which they had invoked from heaven had been awarded to them, but they had violated their awfully solemn compact with the Deity, and set at nought every principle which they professed to hold sacred, by keeping two and a half millions of their fellow-men in bondage. In reprobation of that disgraceful conduct, his humble voice had been heard across the wide waves of the Atlantic. Like the thunder-storm in its strength, it had careered against the breeze, armed with the lightning of Christian truth. (Great cheering.) And let them seek to repress it as they may—let them murder and assassinate in the true spirit of Lynch law; the storm would wax louder and louder around them, till the claims of justice became too strong to be withstood, and the black man would stand up too big for his chains. It seemed, indeed—he hoped what he was about to say was not profanation—as if the curse of the Almighty had already overtaken them. For the first time in their political history, disgraceful tumult and anarchy had been witnessed in their cities. Blood had been shed without the sanction of law, and even Sir Robert Peel had been enabled—but he was here in danger of becoming political. (Cries of no, no—go on, and cheers.) Well, then, even Sir Robert Peel had been enabled to taunt the Americans with gross inconsistency and lawless proceedings. He differed from Sir Robert Peel on many points. On one point, however, he fully agreed with him. Let the proud Americans learn that all parties in this country unite in condemnation of their present conduct; and let them also learn that the worst of all aristocracies is that which prevails in America—an aristocracy which had been aptly denominated that of the human skin. The most insufferable pride was that shown by such an aristocracy. And yet he must confess

that he could not understand such pride. He could understand the pride of noble descent. He could understand why a man should plume himself on the success of his ancestors, in plundering the people some centuries ago. He could understand the pride arising from immense landed possessions. He could understand even the pride of wealth, the fruit of honest and careful industry. But when he thought of the color of the skin making men aristocratic, he felt his astonishment to vie with his contempt. Many a white skin covered a black heart; yet an aristocrat of the skin was the proudest of the proud. Republicans were proverbially proud, and therefore he delighted to taunt the Americans with the superlative meanness, as well as injustice, of their assumed airs of superiority over their black fellow-citizens. (Cheers.) He would continue to hurl his taunts across the Atlantic. These would ascend the Mississippi, they would descend the Missouri, and be heard along the banks of the Ohio and the Monongahela, till the black man would leap delighted to express his gratitude to those who had effected his emancipation. (Cheers.) And, O—but perhaps it was his pride that dictated the hope—that some black O'Connell might rise among his fellow-slaves (tremendous cheers), who would cry agitate, agitate, agitate (renewed cheering), till the two millions and a half of his fellow-sufferers learned the secret of their strength—learned that they were two millions and a half. (Enthusiastic cheers.) If there was one thing which more than another could excite his hatred, it was the laws which the Americans had framed to prevent the instruction of their slaves. To teach a slave to read was made a capital offence. (Shame.) To be seen in company with a negro who could write was visited with imprisonment (shame), and to teach a slave the principles of freedom, was punished with death. Were these human laws, it might be asked? Were they not laws made by wolves of the forest? No, they were made by a congregation of two-legged wolves—American wolves—monsters in human shape, who boast of their liberty and of their humanity, while they carry the hearts of tigers within them. (Cheers.) With regard to the attacks which had been made upon his countrymen by such men, he rejoiced at them. (Cheers.) These proved to him that the sufferings to which they had been subjected in the land of their birth, had not been lost upon them; but that their kindly affections had been nurtured into strength, and that they had raged themselves on the side of the oppressed slave. (Cheers.)—*Speech in Glasgow, Scotland, Sept. 1836.*



## GREAT BRITAIN.



ACT of 3 and 4 WILLIAM IV, chapter lxxiii, § 12.

Be it enacted, that all and every of the persons, who, on the first day of *August*, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-four, shall be holden in *slavery* within any such *British* colony as aforesaid, shall, upon, and from and after the first day of *August*, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-four, become and be to all intents and purposes, **FREE** and discharged of, and from all manner of **SLAVERY**; and shall be absolutely and forever manumitted; and that the children thereafter to be born to any such persons, and the offspring of such children, shall in like manner be free from their birth; and that from and after the first day of *August*, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-four, **SLAVERY** shall be, and is hereby utterly and for ever **ABOLISHED** and declared unlawful throughout the *BRITISH* colonies, plantations, and possessions abroad.

## WILLIAM BLACKSTONE.

Those rights which God and nature have established, and are, therefore, called natural rights—such as life and liberty—need not the aid of human laws to be more effectually invested in every man than they are; neither do they receive any additional strength when declared by the municipal laws to be inviolable. On the contrary, no human legislature has power to abridge or destroy them, unless the owner himself shall commit some act which amounts to a forfeiture.

The first and primary end of all human laws is, to maintain and regulate those absolute rights of individuals. The absolute rights of man, considered as a free agent, endowed with discernment to know good from evil, and with power of choosing those measures which appear to him most desirable, are usually summed up in one general appellation, and denominated the natural liberty of mankind. This

natural liberty consists, properly in a power of acting as one thinks fit, without any restraint or control, unless by the law of nature; being a right inherent in us by birth, and one of the gifts of God to man at his creation, when he endued him with the faculty of free will. But every man, when he enters into society, gives up a part of his natural liberty, as the price of so valuable a purchase; and, in consideration of receiving the advantages of mutual commerce, obliges himself to conform to those laws which the community has thought proper to establish.

These rights and liberties are no other than either that *residuum* of natural liberty which is not required by the laws of society to be sacrificed to public convenience; or else those civil privileges which society hath engaged to provide in lieu of the natural liberties so given up by individuals.—These are, the right of personal security, the right of personal liberty, and the right of private property.—*Commentaries*.  
[See also "John Wesley," in this compilation.]

### WILLIAM BEST.

It is a matter of pride for me to recollect, that while economists and politicians were recommending to the Legislature the protection of this traffic, and senators were framing laws for its promotion, and declaring it a benefit to the country,—the judges of the land, above the age in which they lived, standing upon the high ground of natural right, and disdaining to bend to the lower doctrine of expediency, declared that slavery was inconsistent with the genius of the English Constitution, and that human beings could not be the subject matter of property. As a lawyer, I speak of that early determination, when a different doctrine was prevailing in the senate, with a considerable degree of professional pride.

### GRANVILLE SHARP.

I might allege, indeed, that many of the plantation laws (like every act that contains any thing which is *malum in se*, evil in its own nature) are already null and void in themselves; because they want every necessary foundation to render them valid, being absolutely contradictory to the laws of reason and natural equity, as well as to the laws of God. Yet, as many of them (to the disgrace of the English name) have been long in force, and have had the formal assent of kings, they will require a formal repeal by all the parties, in order to preserve, in each branch of the Legislature, that reciprocal faith, which is due to all solemn compacts.

That your lordship may see the *absolute necessity* of such a measure, I have likewise sent a short, lively representation in MS. of the present state of slavery in Maryland.

"But whether I shall go thither or return home, I am yet undetermined: indeed nowhere shall I stay long from England; for I had much rather enjoy the bare necessities of life there, than the most affluent circumstances in this country of most wretched slavery. \* \* \* There are four things under the sun, which I equally abhor and abominate, viz. *slavery, licentiousness, pride, and impudence*, all which abound here, in a monstrous degree.

"The punishments of the poor negroes and convicts, are beyond all conception, being entirely subject to the will of their savage and brutal masters. They are often punished for not doing more than strength and nature will admit of; and sometimes because they cannot on every occasion, fall in with their wanton and capricious humors. One punishment is to flay their backs with cowhides, or other instruments of barbarity, and then pour on hot rum, superinduced with brine or pickle, rubbed in with a corn husk, in the scorching heat of the sun. For certain, if your judges were sensible of the shocking treatment of the convicts here, they would hang every one of them, as infinitely less punishment; and transport only those, whose crimes deserve the severest death. Better be hanged seven hundred times, than serve seven years here: and there is no redress, for magistrates and all are equally interested and criminal. If I had a child, I had rather see him, the humblest scavenger in the streets of London, than the loftiest tyrant in America, with a thousand slaves at his beck."

Old Jewry, 18th February, 1772.

In connexion with this letter, Granville Sharp adverting to the existing slave laws of the colonies, says in his journal of the same day, (18th Feb. 1772) "If such laws are not *absolutely necessary* for the government of slaves, the law-makers must unavoidably allow themselves to be the *most cruel and abandoned tyrants* upon earth, and, perhaps, that *ever were on earth*. But, on the other hand, if it be said that it is *impossible* to govern slaves, *without such inhuman severity and detestable injustice*, the same is an invincible argument against the *least toleration* of slavery among Christians; because *temporal profits*, cannot compensate the forfeiture of everlasting welfare—that the *cries of these much injured people will certainly reach heaven*—that the Scriptures denounce a tremendous judgment against the man, who shall offend *one little one*—that it were *better for the nation* that their *American dominions* had *never existed*, or even that they had *sunk in the sea*, than that the *kingdom of Great Britain* should be loaded with the *horrid guilt of tolerating such abominable wickedness*," &c.

It ought to be remembered that while Granville Sharp thus boldly remonstrated with the government of his country, he filled a government situation and was dependant for his present subsistence, and for his future prospects in life, upon the ministry of the day.—*Life of Sharp by Charles Stuart.*

## THOMAS CLARKSON.

I passed through no town in which some individual had not left off the use of sugar. In the smaller towns there were from ten to fifty by estimation, and in the larger, from two to five hundred, who had made this sacrifice to virtue. These were of all rank and parties. Rich and poor, churchmen and dissenters, had adopted the measure. Even grocers had left off trading in the article in some places. In gentlemen's families, where the master had set the example, the servants had often voluntarily followed it; even children, capable of understanding the African's sufferings, excluded, with the most virtuous resolution, the accustomed sweets from their lips. By the least computation I could make, from notes taken down in my journey, no fewer than three hundred thousand (300,000) persons had abandoned the use of sugar.

This account of the manner in which light and information proceed in a free country, furnishes us with some valuable knowledge. It shows us, first, the great importance of education; for all they who can read may become enlightened. They may gain as much from the dead as from the living. They may see the sentiments of former ages. Thus they may contract, by degrees, habits of virtuous inclination, and become fitted to join with others in the removal of any of the evils of life.

It shows us, secondly, how that encouraging maxim may become true; That no good effort is ever lost. For if he, who makes the virtuous attempt, should be prevented by death from succeeding in it, can he not speak through the tomb? Will not his works still breathe his sentiments upon it? May not the opinions, and the facts, which he has recorded, meet the approbation of ten thousand readers of whom it is probable, in the common course of things, that some will branch out of him as authors, and others as actors or laborers, in the same cause?

## PARLIAMENTARY SPEECHES,

[From Clarkson's History of the Abolition of the Slave-trade.]

## WILLIAM WILBERFORCE.

It was ridiculous to say that men would be bound by their interest, when gain or ardent passion urged them. It might as well be asserted that a stone could not be thrown into the air, or a body move from place to place, because the principles of gravitation bound them to the surface of the earth. If a planter found himself reduced in his profits, he did not usually dispose of any part of his slaves; and his own gratifications were never given up, so long as there was a possibility of making any retrenchment in the allowance of his slaves.

Europe, three or four centuries ago, was in many parts as barbarous as Africa is at present, and chargeable with as bad practices. For, what would be said, if so late as the middle of the thirteenth century, he could find a parallel there for the

slave-trade? Yes. This parallel was to be found even in England. The people of Bristol, in the reign of Henry VII, had a regular market for children, which were bought by the Irish; but the latter having experienced a general calamity, which they imputed as a judgment from Heaven, on account of this wicked traffic, abolished it.

Above all, the state of degradation to which they were reduced, deserved to be noticed; as it produced an utter inattention to them as moral agents. They were kept to work under the whip like cattle. They were left totally ignorant of morality and religion. There was no regular marriage among them. Hence promiscuous intercourse, early prostitutions, and excessive drinking, were material causes of their decrease.

"Mr. Ross conceived a master had a right to punish his slave in whatever manner he might think proper." The same was declared by numberless other witnesses. Some instances indeed had lately occurred of convictions. A master had wantonly cut the mouth of a child, of six months old, almost from ear to ear. But did not the verdict of the jury show, that the doctrine of calling masters to an account was entirely novel; as it only pronounced him "Guilty, subject to the opinion of the court, if immoderate correction of a slave by his master be indictable?" The court determined in the affirmative; and, what was the punishment of this barbarous act? A fine of forty shillings currency, equivalent to about twenty-five shillings sterling. It was in evidence, that they were in general under-fed.

The fact was, that these [the managers] sought to establish their characters by producing large crops at a small immediate expense; too little, considering how far the slaves might suffer from ill treatment and excessive labor. The pursuit of such a system was a criterion for judging of their characters, as both Mr. Long and Mr. Olley had confessed. But he hoped the committee would attend to the latter part of the assertion of Captain Smith. Yes; this trade, while it injured the constitutions of our sailors, debased their morals. Of this, indeed, there was a barbarous illustration in the evidence. A slave-ship had struck on some shoals, called the Morant Keys, a few leagues from the east end of Jamaica. The crew landed in their boats, with arms and provisions, leaving the slaves on board in their irons. This happened in the night. When morning came, it was discovered that the negroes had broken their shackles, and were busy in making rafts; upon which afterwards they had placed their women and children. The men attended upon the latter, swimming by their side, whilst they drifted to the island where the crew were. But what was the sequel? From an apprehension that the negroes would consume the water and provision, which had been landed, the crew resolved to destroy them as they approached the shore. They killed between three and four hundred. Out of the whole cargo only thirty-three were saved, who, on being brought to Kingston, were sold.

In answer to a suggestion of regulating the treatment of slaves by law, he asked, How could any laws made by legislatures be effectual, whilst the evidence of negroes was in no case admitted against white men? What was the answer of Grenada? Did it not state, "that they, who were capable of cruelty, would in general be artful enough to prevent any but slaves being witnesses of the fact? Hence it had arisen, that when positive laws had been made, in some of the islands, for the protection of the slaves, they had been found almost a dead letter. Besides, by what law would you enter into every man's domestic concerns, and regulate the interior economy of his house and plantation? This would be something more than a general excise. Who would endure such a law? And yet on all these and innumerable other minutiae must depend the protection of the slaves, their comforts, and the probability of their increase. The provisions of the Directorio had been but of little more avail in the Portuguese settlements, or the institution of a Protector of the Indians, in those of the Spaniards. But what degree of protection the slaves would enjoy might be inferred from the admission of a gentleman, by whom this very plan of regulation had been recommended, and who was himself no ordinary person, but a man of discernment and legal resources. He had proposed a limitation of the number of lashes to be given by the master or overseer for one offence. But, after all, he candidly confessed, that his proposal was not likely to be useful, while the evidence of slaves continued inadmissible against their masters. But he could even bring testimony to the inefficacy of such regulations. A wretch in Barbadoes had chained a negro girl to the floor, and flogged her till she

was nearly expiring. Captain Cook and Major Fitch, hearing her cries, broke open the door, and found her. The wretch retreated from their resentment, but cried out exultingly, "that he had only given her thirty-nine lashes (the number limited by law) at any one time; and that he had only inflicted this number three times since the beginning of the night," adding that he would prosecute them for breaking open his door; and that he would flog her to death for all any one, if he pleased; and that he would give her the fourth thirty-nine before morning.

For his own part, he declared that, interested as he might be supposed to be in the final event of the question, he was comparatively indifferent as to the present decision of the house upon it. Whatever they might do, the people of Great Britain, he was confident, would abolish the slave-trade, when, as would then soon happen, its injustice and cruelty should be fairly laid before them. It was a nest of serpents, which would never have existed so long, but for the darkness in which they lay hid. The light of day would be now let in upon them, and they would vanish from the sight. For himself, he declared he was engaged in a work, which he would never abandon. The consciousness of the justice of his cause would carry him forward, though he were alone. Let us not, he said, despair. It is a blessed cause; and success, ere long, will crown our exertions. Already we have gained one victory. We have obtained for these poor creatures the recognition of their human nature, which for a while was most shamefully denied them. This is the first fruits of our efforts. Let us persevere, and our triumph will be complete. Never, never will we desist, till we have wiped away this scandal from the Christian name; till we have released ourselves from the load of guilt under which we at present labor; and till we have extinguished every trace of this bloody traffic, which our posterity, looking back to the history of these enlightened times, will scarcely believe had been suffered to exist so long, a disgrace and a dishonor to our country.

If aristocracy had been thought a worse form of government than monarchy, because the people had many tyrants instead of one, how objectionable must be that form of it, which existed in our colonies! Arbitrary power could be bought there by any one, who could buy a slave. The fierceness of it was doubtless restrained by an elevation of mind in many, as arising from a consciousness of superior rank and consequence: but alas! it was too often exercised there by the base and vulgar. As for the cure of this monstrous evil, he had shown last year, that internal regulations would not produce it. These could have no effect, while the evidence of slaves was inadmissible. What would be the situation of the bulk of the people of this country, if only gentlemen of five hundred a year were admitted as evidences in our courts of law?

He would now say a few words relative to the Middle Passage, principally to show, that regulations could not effect a cure of the evil there. Mr. Isaac Wilson had stated in his evidence, that the ship, in which he sailed, only three years ago, was of three hundred and seventy tons; and that she carried six hundred and two slaves. Of these she lost one hundred and fifty-five. There were three or four other vessels in company with her, and which belonged to the same owners. One of these carried four hundred and fifty, and buried two hundred; another carried four hundred and sixty-six, and buried seventy-three; another five hundred and forty-six, and buried one hundred and fifty-eight; and from the four together, after the landing of their cargoes, two hundred and twenty died. He fell in with another vessel, which had lost three hundred and sixty-two, but the number which had been bought, was not specified. Now if to these actual deaths, during and immediately after the voyage, we were to add the subsequent loss in the seasoning, and to consider that this would be greater than ordinary in cargoes which were landed in such a sickly state, we should find a mortality, which if it were only general for a few months would entirely depopulate the globe.

He would advert to what Mr. Wilson said, when examined, as a surgeon, as to the causes of these losses, and particularly on board his own ship where he had the means of ascertaining them. The substance of his reply was this: that most of the slaves labored under a fixed melancholy, which now and then broke out into lamentations and plaintive songs, expressive of the loss of their relations, friends, and country. So powerful did this sorrow operate, that many of them attempted in various ways to destroy themselves, and three actually effected it. Others obstinately refused to take sustenance; and when the whip and other violent means were used to compel them to eat, they looked up in the face of the officer, who

unwillingly executed this painful task, and said with a smile, in their own language, "presently we shall be no more." This, their unhappy state of mind, produced a general languor and debility, which were increased in many instances by an unconquerable aversion to food, arising partly from sickness, and partly, to use the language of slave captains, from sulkiness. These causes naturally produced the flux. The contagion spread; several were carried off daily; and the disorder, aided by no many powerful auxiliaries, resisted the power of medicine. And it was worth while to remark, that these grievous sufferings were not owing either to want of care on the part of the owners, or to any negligence or harshness of the captain; for Mr. Wilson declared, that his ship was as well fitted out, and the crew and slaves as well treated, as any body could reasonably expect.

He would now go to another ship. That, in which Mr. Claxton sailed as a surgeon, afforded a repetition of all the horrid circumstances which had been described. Suicide was attempted, and effected; and the same barbarous expedients were adopted to compel the slaves to continue an existence, which they considered as too painful to be endured. The mortality also was as great. And yet here again the captain was in no wise to blame. But this vessel had sailed since the regulating act. Nay, even in the last year the deaths on ship board would be found to be between ten and eleven per cent. on the whole number exported. In truth, the house could not reach the cause of this mortality by all their regulations. Until they could cure a broken heart, until they could legislate for the affections, and bind by their statutes the passions and feelings of the mind, their labor would be in vain.

Such were the evils of the passage. But evils were conspicuous everywhere in this trade. Never was there indeed a system so replete with wickedness and cruelty. To whatever part of it we turned our eyes, whether to Africa, the Middle Passage, or the West Indies, we could find no comfort, no satisfaction, no relief. It was the gracious ordinance of Providence, both in the natural and moral world, that good should often arise out of evil. Hurricanes cleared the air; and the propagation of truth was promoted by persecution. Pride, vanity, and profusion contributed often, in their remoter consequences, to the happiness of mankind. In common, what was itself evil and vicious was permitted to carry along with it some circumstances of palliation. The Arab was hospitable; the robber brave. We did not necessarily find cruelty associated with fraud, or meanness with injustice. But here the case was far otherwise. It was the prerogative of this detestable traffic to separate from evil its concomitant good, and to reconcile discordant mischiefs. It robbed war of its generosity; it deprived peace of its security; we saw in it the vices of polished society, without its knowledge or its comforts; and the evils of barbarism without its simplicity. No age, no sex, no rank, no condition, was exempt from the fatal influence of this wide-wasting calamity. Thus it attained to the fullest measure of pure, unmixed, unsophisticated wickedness; and, scorning all competition and comparison, it stood without a rival in the secure, undisputed possession of its detestable pre-eminence.

Smith, who was sent out by the Royal African Company in 1726, assures us, "that the discerning natives account it their greatest unhappiness, that they were ever visited by the Europeans. They say that we Christians introduced the traffic of slaves; and that before our coming they lived in peace. But, say they, wherever Christianity comes, there come swords, and guns, and powder, and ball, along with it."

#### WILLIAM PITT.

Mr. Pitt rose, and said, that from the first hour of his having had the honor to sit in parliament down to the present, among all the questions, whether political or personal, in which it had been his fortune to take a share, there never had been one in which his heart was so deeply interested as in the present; both on account of the serious principles involved, and the consequences connected with it.

The present was not a mere question of feeling. The argument, which ought in his opinion to determine the committee, was, that the slave-trade was unjust. It was, therefore, such a trade as it was impossible for him to support, unless it could be first proved to him, that there were no laws of morality binding upon nations; and that it was not the duty of a legislature to restrain its subjects from invading the happiness of other countries, and from violating the fundamental principles of justice.

## EDMUND BURKE.

Nothing makes a slave but a degraded man. In proportion as the mind grows callous to its degradation, and all sense of manly pride is lost, the slave feels comfort. In fact, he is no longer a man. If he were to define a man, he would say with Shakspeare,

"Man is a being, holding large discourse,  
Looking before and after."

But a slave was incapable of looking before and after. He had no motive to do it. He was a mere passive instrument in the hands of others, to be used at their discretion. Though living, he was dead as to all voluntary agency. Though moving amidst the creation with an erect form, and with the shape and semblance of a human being, he was a nullity as a man.

He said the slave-trade was directly contrary to the principles of humanity and justice, and that the state of slavery which followed it, however mitigated, was a state so improper, so degrading, and so ruinous to the feelings and capacities of human nature, that it ought not to be suffered to exist.

## JAMES MARTIN.

He had been long aware, how much self-interest could pervert the judgment; but he was not apprised of the full power of it, till the slave-trade became a subject of discussion. For he never could believe that any man, under the influence of moral principles, could suffer himself knowingly to carry on a trade, replete with fraud, cruelty, and destruction; with destruction, indeed, of the worst kind, because it subjected the sufferers to a lingering death. It was well observed in the petition from the University of Cambridge against the slave-trade, "that a firm belief in the Providence of a benevolent Creator assured them that no system, founded on the oppressions of one part of mankind, could be beneficial to another." He felt much concern, that in an assembly of the representatives of a country, boasting itself zealous not only for the preservation of its own liberties, but for the general rights of mankind, it should be necessary to say a single word upon such a subject; but the deceitfulness of the human heart was such, as to change the appearance of truth, when it stood in opposition to self-interest. He had to lament that even among those, whose public duty it was to cling to the universal and eternal principles of truth, justice, and humanity, there were found some, who could defend that which was unjust, fraudulent, and cruel.

The doctrines he had heard that evening, ought to have been reserved for times the most flagrantly profligate and abandoned. He never expected then to learn, that the everlasting laws of righteousness were to give way to imaginary, political, and commercial expediency; and that thousands of our fellow-creatures were to be reduced to wretchedness, that individuals might enjoy opulence. Dissenters of various denominations, but particularly the Quakers, (who to their immortal honor had taken the lead in it) had vied with those of the Established Church in this amiable contest. In short, there had never been more unanimity in the country, than in this righteous attempt.

With such support, and with so good a cause, it would be impossible to fail. Let but every man stand forth, who had at any time boasted himself as an Englishman, and success would follow. But if he were to be unhappily mistaken as to the result, we must give up the name of Englishmen. Indeed, if we retained it, we should be the greatest hypocrites in the world; for we boasted of nothing more than of our own liberty; we manifested the warmest indignation at the smallest personal insult; we professed liberal sentiments towards other nations; but to do these things, and continue such a traffic, would be to deserve the hateful character before mentioned. While we could hardly bear the sight of any thing resembling slavery, even as a punishment among ourselves, how could we consistently entertain an eternal slavery upon others?

For his part, he should never believe those persons to be sincere, who were loud in their professions of love of liberty, if he saw that love confined to the narrow circle of one community, which ought to be extended to the natural rights of every inhabitant of the globe.



## WILLIAM SMITH.

He wondered how the last speaker could have had the boldness to draw arguments from scripture in support of the slave-trade.

Such arguments could be intended only to impose on those, who never took the trouble of thinking for themselves. Could it be thought for a moment, that the good sense of the house could be misled by a few perverted or misapplied passages, in direct opposition to the whole tenor and spirit of Christianity; to the theory, he might say, of almost every religion which had ever appeared in the world? Whatever might have been advanced, every body must feel, that the slave-trade could not exist one hour, if that excellent maxim, "to do to others as we should wish that others should do to us," had its proper influence on the conduct of men.

Nor was Mr. Stanley more happy in his argument of the antiquity and universality of slavery.

Because a practice had existed, did it necessarily follow that it was just? By this argument every crime might be defended from the time of Cain. \* \* \*

That the slaves were exposed to great misery in the islands was true, as well from inference as from facts: for what might not be expected from the use of arbitrary power, where the three characters of party, judge, and executioner were united! The slaves too were more capable on account of their passions, than the beasts of the field, of exciting the passions of their tyrants.

To what a length the ill treatment of them might be carried, might be learnt from the instance which Gen. Tottenham mentioned to have seen in the year 1780 in the streets of Bridge Town, Barbadoes:

"A youth about nineteen, (to use his own words in the evidence,) entirely naked, with an iron collar about his neck, having five long projecting spikes. His body both before and behind was covered with wounds. His belly and thighs were almost cut to pieces, with running ulcers all over them; and a finger might have been laid in some of the wounds. He could not sit down, because his hinder part was mortified; and it was impossible for him to lie down, on account of the prongs of his collar." He supplicated the general for relief.

The latter asked, who had punished him so dreadfully? The youth answered, his master had done it. And because he would not work, this same master, in the same spirit of perversion, which extorts from scripture a justification of the slave-trade, had fulfilled the apostolic maxim, that he should have nothing to eat. The use he meant to make of this instance was to shew the unprotected state of the slaves. What must it be, where such an instance could pass, not only unpunished, but almost unregarded! If, in the streets of London, but a dog were to be seen lacerated like this miserable man, how would the cruelty of the wretch be execrated, who had thus even abused a brute!

The judicial punishments also inflicted upon the Negro, showed the low estimation in which, in consequence of the strength of old customs and deep-rooted prejudices, they were held.

Mr. Edwards, in his speech to the assembly at Jamaica, stated the following case, as one which had happened in one of the rebellions there. Some slaves surrounded the dwelling-house of their mistress. She was in bed with a lovely infant. They deliberated upon the means of putting her to death in torment. But in the end, one of them reserved her for his mistress; and they killed her infant with an axe before her face.

"Now," says Mr. Edwards, addressing himself to his audience, "you will think that no torments were too great for such horrible excesses. Nevertheless I am of a different opinion. I think that death, unaccompanied with cruelty, should be the utmost exertion of human authority over our unhappy fellow-creatures." Torments, however, were always inflicted in these cases.

The punishment was gibbeting alive, and exposing the delinquents to perish by the gradual effects of hunger, thirst, and a parching sun; in which situation they were known to suffer for nine days, with a fortitude scarcely credible, never uttering a single groan.

But horrible as the excesses might have been, which occasioned these punishments, it must be remembered, that they were committed by ignorant savages, who had been dragged from all they held most dear; whose patience had been exhausted by a cruel and loathsome confinement during their transportation; and whose resentment had been wound up to the highest pitch of fury by the lash of the driver.

But he would now mention another instance, by way of contrast, out of the evidence. A child on board a slave ship, of about ten months old, took sulk and would not eat. The captain flogged it with a cat; swearing he would make it eat, or kill it. From this and other ill treatment the child's legs swelled. He ordered some water to be made hot to abate the swelling. But even his tender mercies were cruel; for the cook, on putting his hand into the water, said it was too hot. Upon this the captain swore at him, and ordered the feet to be put in. This was done. The nails and skin came off. Oiled cloths were then put round them. The child was at length tied to a heavy log. Two or three days afterwards, the captain caught it up again; and repeated that he would make it eat or kill it. He immediately flogged it again, and in a quarter of an hour it died. But, after the child was dead, whom should the barbarian select to throw it overboard, but the wretched mother? In vain she started from the office. He beat her, till he made her take up the child and carry it to the side of the vessel. She then dropped it into the sea, turning her head the other way that she might not see it.

Now it would naturally be asked, was not this captain also gibbeted alive? Alas! although the execrable barbarity of the European exceeded that of the Africans before mentioned, almost as much as his opportunities of instruction had been greater than theirs, no notice whatever was taken of this horrible action; and a thousand similar cruelties had been committed in this abominable trade with equal impunity—but he would say no more."

### JOHN COURTENAY.

The trade, it had been said, was conducted upon the principles of humanity. Yes: we rescued the Africans from what we were pleased to call their wretched situation in their own country, and then we took credit for our humanity; because, after having killed one half of them in the seasoning, we substituted what we were pleased to call a better treatment than that which they would have experienced at home.

It had been said by Mr. Stanley, that the pulpit had been used as an instrument of attack on the slave-trade. He was happy to learn it had been so well employed—and he hoped the bishops would rise up in the house of lords, with the virtuous indignation which became them, to abolish a traffic so contrary to humanity, justice, and religion.

### CHARLES JAMES FOX.

Some expressions, which he had used on the preceding day, had been complained of as too harsh and severe. He had since considered them; but he could not prevail upon himself to retract them; because, if any gentleman, after reading the evidence on the table, and attending to the debate, could avow himself an abettor in this shameful traffic in human flesh, it could only be from some hardness of heart, or some difficulty of understanding, which he really knew not how to account for.

Some had considered this question as a question of political, whereas it was a question of personal freedom. Political freedom was undoubtedly a great blessing; but, when it came to be compared with personal, it sunk to nothing. To confound the two served therefore to render all arguments either periphrastic and unimelligible. Personal freedom was the first right of every human being. It was a right, of which he who deprived a fellow creature was absolutely criminal in so depriving him, and which he who withheld was no less criminal in withholding. He could not therefore retract his words with respect to any, who (whatever respect he might otherwise have for them) should, by their vote of that night, deprive their fellow creatures of so great a blessing. Nay, he would go further. He would say that if the house, knowing what the trade was by the evidence, did not by their vote mark to all mankind their abhorrence of a practice so savage, so enormous, so repugnant to all laws human and divine, they would consign their characters to eternal infamy.

But what was our motive in the case before us? To continue a trade which was a wholesale sacrifice of a whole order and race of our fellow creatures; which carried them away by force from their native country, in order to subject them to the mere will and caprice, the tyranny and oppression, of other human beings, for their whole natural lives, them and their posterity for ever!! O most monstrous wick-

edness! O unparalleled barbarity! And, what was more aggravating, this most complicated scene of robbery and murder which mankind had ever witnessed, had been honoured by the name of—trade.

With respect to the situation of the slaves in their transportation, he knew not how to give the house a more correct idea of the horrors of it, than by referring them to the printed section of the slave ship; where the eye must see what the tongue must fail short in describing. On this dismal part of the subject he would not dwell. He would only observe, that the acts of barbarity, related of the slave captains on these voyages, were so extravagant, that they had been attributed in some instances to insanity. But was not this the insanity of arbitrary power? Who ever read the facts recorded of Nero, without suspecting he was mad? Who would not be apt to impute insanity to Caligula, or Domitian, or Caracalla, or Commodus, or Heliogabalus? Here were six Roman emperors, not connected in blood, nor by descent, who, each of them possessing arbitrary power, had been so distinguished for cruelty, that nothing short of insanity could be imputed to them.

Was not the insatiable of the masters of slave ships to be accounted for on the same principles? Of the slaves in the West Indies it had been said that they were taken from a worse state to a better. An honorable member, Mr. W. Smith, had quoted some instances out of the evidence to the contrary. He also would quote one or two others. A slave under hard usage had run away. To prevent a repetition of the offence the owner sent for a surgeon, and desired him to cut off the man's leg. The surgeon refused. The owner, to render it a matter of duty in the surgeon, broke it. 'Now,' says he, 'you must cut it off, or the man will die.' We might console ourselves, perhaps, that this happened in a French island; but he would select another instance, which had happened in one of our own. Mr. Ross heard the shrieks of a female issuing from an out-house; and so piercing, that he determined to see what was going on. On looking in he perceived a young female tied up by her wrists to a beam, entirely naked; and in the act of involuntary writhing and swinging; while the author of her torture was standing below her with a lighted torch in his hand, which he applied to all the parts of her body as it approached him. What crime this miserable woman had perpetrated he knew not;

He was glad to see that these tales affected the house. Would they then sanction enormities, the bare recital of which made them shudder? Let them remember that humanity did not consist in a squeamish ear. It did not consist in shrinking and starting at such tales as these; but in a disposition of the heart to remedy the evils they unfolded. Humanity belonged rather to the mind than to the nerves. But, if so, it should prompt men to charitable exertion.

One argument had been used, which for a subject so grave was the most ridiculous he had ever heard. Mr. Alderman Watson had declared the slave-trade to be necessary on account of its connexion with our fisheries. But what was this but an acknowledgment of the manner, in which these miserable beings were treated? The trade was to be kept up, with all its enormities, in order that there might be persons to consume the refuse fish from Newfoundland, which was too bad for any body else to eat.

It had been said that England ought not to abolish the slave-trade, unless other nations would also give it up. But what kind of morality was this? The trade was defensible upon no other principle than that of a highwayman. Mere gain was not a motive for a great country to rest on, as a justification of any measure. Honor was its superior; and justice was superior to honor.

With respect to the intellect and sensibility of the Africans, it was pride only, which suggested a difference between them and ourselves. There was a remarkable instance to the point in the evidence, and which he would quote. In one of the slave ships was a person of consequence; a man, once high in a military station, and with a mind not insensible to the eminence of his rank. He had been taken captive and sold; and was then in the hold, confined promiscuously with the rest. Happening in the night to fall asleep, he dreamed that he was in his own country; high in honor and command; caressed by his family and friends; waited on by his domestics; and surrounded with all his former comforts in life. But waking suddenly, and finding where he was, he was heard to burst into the loudest groans and lamentations on the miserable contrast of his present state; mixed with the meanness of his subjects; and subjected to the insolence of wretches a thousand

times lower than himself in every kind of endowment. He appealed to the house, whether this was not as moving a picture of the miserable effects of the slave-trade, as could be well imagined. There was one way, by which they might judge of it. Let them make the case their own. This was the Christian rule of judging; and, having mentioned Christianity, he was sorry to find that any should suppose that it had given countenance to such a system of oppression. So far was this from being the case, that he thought it one of the most splendid triumphs of this religion, that it had caused slavery to be so generally abolished on its appearance in the world. It had done this by teaching us, among other beautiful precepts, that, in the sight of their Maker, all mankind were equal. He knew, however, that what he had been ascribing to Christianity had been imputed by others to the advances which philosophy had made. Each of the two parties took the merit to itself. The philosopher gave it to philosophy, and the divine to religion. He should not then dispute with either of them; but as both coveted the praise, why should they not emulate each other by promoting this improvement in the condition of the human race?

He would now conclude by declaring that the whole country, indeed the whole civilized world, must rejoice that such a bill as the present had been moved for, not merely as a matter of humanity, but as an act of justice; for he would put humanity out of the case. Could it be called humanity to forbear from committing murder? Exactly upon this ground did the present motion stand; being strictly a question of national justice. He thanked Mr. Wilberforce for having pledged himself so strongly to pursue his object till it was accomplished; and, as for himself, he declared, that, in whatever situation he might ever be, he would use his warmest efforts for the promotion of this righteous cause.

#### PHILIP FRANCIS.

Having himself an interest in the West Indies, he thought that what he should submit to the house would have the double effect of evidence and argument; and he stated most unequivocally his opinion, that the abolition of the slave-trade would tend materially to the benefit of the West Indies. Mr. Brougham asserted that the slave-trade was politic and expedient; but it was worthy of remark, that no man had ventured to deny that it was criminal. Criminal, however, he declared it to be in the highest degree; and he believed it was equally inexpedient. Both its in expediency and injustice had been established by this honorable mover.

He instanced an overseer, who, having thrown a negro into a copper of boiling cane-juice, for a trifling offence, was punished merely by the loss of his place, and by being obliged to pay the value of his slave. He stated another instance of a girl of fourteen, who was dreadfully whipped for coming too late to her work. She fell down motionless after it; and was then dragged along the ground, by the legs, to an hospital; where she died. This was a notorious fact. It was published in the Jamaica Gazette: and it has even happened since the question of the abolition had been started.

The only argument used against such cruelties was the master's interest in the slave. But he urged the common cruelty to horses, in which the drivers had an equal interest with the drivers of men in the colonies, as a proof that this was no security. He had never heard an instance of a master being punished for the murder of his slave. The propagation of the slaves was so far from being encouraged, that it was purposely checked, because it was thought more profitable and less troublesome to buy a full-grown negro, than to rear a child. He repeated that his interest might have inclined him to the other side of the question; but he did not choose to compromise between his interest and his duty; for, if he abandoned his duty, he should not be happy in this world; nor should he deserve happiness in the next.

#### BISHOP HORSLEY.

The noble Earl has produced to your lordships a passage in the Levitical Law, which enacts that the foreign slave should be the property of his master *for ever*. Whence the noble Earl concludes that the perpetual servitude of foreign slaves was actually sanctioned by the law. But, my lords, I must tell the noble Earl, and I must tell your lordships, that the noble Earl has no understanding at all of the

technical terms of the Jewish Law. In all the laws relating to the transfer of property, the words *for ever*, signify only *to the next jubilee*. That is the longest *for ever* which the Jewish law knows, with respect to property. And this law, which makes the foreign slave the property of his master *for ever*, makes him no longer the master's property than to the next jubilee. And with the great attention the noble Earl has given to the laws and history of the Jews, he must know that when they were carried into captivity, they were told by their prophets that one of the crimes which drew down that judgment upon them, was their gross neglect and violation of these merciful laws respecting manumission; and that in contempt and defiance of the law, it had been their practice to hold their foreign slaves in servitude, beyond the year of jubilee.—*Speech in the House of Lords, June 24, 1806.*

Dr. Horsley adverted to what had fallen from the learned counsel, who had supported the petitions of the slave-merchants. One of them had put this question to their lordships, "If the slave-trade were as wicked as it had been represented, why was there no prohibition of it in the Holy Scriptures?" He then entered into a full defence of the scriptures on this ground, which he concluded by declaring that, as St. Paul had coupled men-stealers with murderers, he had condemned the slave-trade in one of its most productive modes, and generally in all its modes: and here it was worthy of remark, that the word used by the apostle on this occasion, and which had been translated *men-stealers*, should have been rendered *slave-traders*. This was obvious from the scholiast of Aristophanes, whom he quoted. It was clear, therefore, that the slave-trade, if murder was forbidden, had been literally forbidden also.

The learned counsel, too, had admonished their lordships to beware how they adopted the visionary projects of fanatics. He did not know in what direction this shaft was shot; and he cared not. It did not concern him. With the highest reverence for the religion of the land, with the firmest conviction of its truth, and with the deepest sense of the importance of its doctrines, he was proudly conscious, that the general shape and fashion of his life bore nothing of the stamp of fanaticism. But he begged leave, in his turn, to address a word of serious exhortation to their lordships. He exhorted them to beware how they were persuaded to bury, under the opprobrious name of fanaticism, the regard which they owed to the great duties of mercy and justice, for the neglect of which, (if they should neglect them,) they would be answerable at that tribunal, where no prevarication of witnesses could misinform the judge; and where no subtlety of an advocate, miscalling the names of things, putting evil for good and good for evil, could mislead his judgment.

### MR. HUDDLESTONE.

Mr. Huddleston could not help lifting his voice against this monstrous traffic in the souls and blood of man, the toleration of which had long been the disgrace of the British legislature. He did not charge the enormous guilt resulting from it upon the nation at large; for the nation had washed its hands of it by the numerous petitions it had sent against it; and it had since been a matter of astonishment to all Christendom, how the constitutional guardians of British freedom should have sanctioned elsewhere the greatest system of cruelty and oppression in the world.

He said that a curse attended this trade even in the mode of defending it. By a certain fatality, none but the vilest arguments were brought forward, which corrupted the very persons, who used them. Every one of these were built on the narrow ground of interest; of pecuniary profit; of sordid gain; in opposition to every higher consideration; to every motive that had reference to humanity, justice, and religion; or to that great principle, which comprehended them all. Place only before the most determined advocate of this odious traffic, the exact image of himself in the garb and harness of a slave, dragged and whipped about like a beast; place this image also before him, and paint it as that of one without a ray of hope to cheer him; and you would extort from him the reluctant confession, that he would not endure for an hour the misery, to which he condemned his fellow-man for life.

How dared he then to use this selfish plea of interest against the voice of the generous sympathies of his nature? But even upon this narrow ground, the advocates for the traffic had been defeated. If the unhallowed argument of expediency

was worth any thing when opposed to moral rectitude, or if it were to supersede the precepts of Christianity, where was a man to stop, or what line was he to draw? For any thing he knew it might be physically true, that human blood was the best manure for the land; but who ought to shed it on that account? True expediency, however, was, where it ever would be found, on the side of that system, which was most merciful and just.

The condition of the negroes in the West Indies had been lately compared with that of the Hindoos. But no barbarous sounds of cracking whips reminded him, that with the form and image of a man, his destiny was that of a beast of the field. Let the advocates for the bloody traffic state what they had to set off on their side of the question against the comforts and independence of the man, with whom they compared the slave.

### SAMUEL WHITBREAD.

No eloquence could persuade him, that the Africans were torn from their country and their dearest connexions, merely that they might lead a happier life; or that they could be placed under the uncontrolled dominion of others without suffering. Arbitrary power would spoil the hearts of the best. Hence would arise tyranny on the one side, and a sense of injury on the other. Hence the passions would be let loose, and a state of perpetual enmity would follow.

He needed only to go to the accounts of those who defended the system of slavery, to show that it was cruel. He was forcibly struck last year by an expression of an honorable member, an advocate for the trade, who, when he came to speak of the slaves, on selling off the stock of a plantation, said, that they fetched less than the common price, because they were damaged! Damaged! What! were they goods and chattels? What an idea was this to hold out to our fellow creatures! We might imagine how slaves were treated, if they could be spoken of in such a manner. Perhaps these unhappy people had lingered out the best part of their lives in the service of their master. Able then to do but little, they were sold for little! and the remaining substance of their sinews was to be pressed out by another, yet more hardened than the former, and who had made a calculation of their vitals accordingly.

### THOMAS ERSKINE.

The Lord Chancellor (Erskine) said, "From information which he could not dispute, he was warranted in saying, that on this continent [Africa] husbands were fraudulently and forcibly severed from their wives, and parents from their children; and that all the ties of blood and affection were torn up by the roots. He had himself seen the unhappy natives put together in heaps in the hold of a ship, where, with every possible attention to them, their situation must have been intolerable. He had also heard proved in courts of justice, facts still more dreadful than those which he had seen. One of these he would just mention. The slaves on board a certain ship rose in a mass to liberate themselves; and having far advanced in the pursuit of their object, it became necessary to repel them by force. Some of them yielded; some of them were killed in the scuffle; but many of them actually jumped into the sea and were drowned; thus preferring death to the misery of their situation; while others hung to the ship, repenting of their rashness, and bewailing with frightful noises their horrid fate. Thus the whole vessel exhibited but one hideous scene of wretchedness. They, who were subdued, and secured in chains, were seized with the flux, which carried many of them off. These things were proved in a trial before a British jury, which had to consider, whether this was a loss, which fell within the policy of insurance; the slaves being regarded as if they had been only a cargo of dead matter. He could mention other instances, but they were much too shocking to be described. Surely their lordships could never consider such a traffic to be consistent with humanity or justice."

### CARYSFORT.

Lord Carysfort rose, and said, "that the great cause of abolition had flourished by the manner in which it had been opposed. No one argument of solid weight had been adduced against it. It had been shown, but never disproved, that the colonial

laws were inadequate to the protection of the slaves; that the punishments of the latter were most unmerciful; that they were deprived of the right of self-defence against any white man, and, in short, that the system was totally repugnant to the principles of the British constitution."

### GEORGE GRENVILLE.

Lord Grenville then read a resolution of the Commons. "This resolution, he said, stated first, that the slave-trade was contrary to humanity, justice, and sound policy. That it was contrary to humanity was obvious; for humanity might be said to be sympathy for the distresses of others, or a desire to accomplish benevolent ends by good means. But did not the slave-trade convey ideas the very reverse of the definition? It deprived men of all those comforts, in which it pleased the Creator to make the happiness of his creature to consist, of the blessings of society, of the charities of the dear relationships of husband, wife, father, son, and kindred; of the due discharge of the relative duties of these, and of that freedom, which in its pure and natural sense, was one of the greatest gifts of God to man.

"It was impossible to read the evidence, as it related to this trade, without acknowledging the inhumanity of it and our own disgrace.

"Another way of keeping up the slave-trade was by the practice of man-stealing. The evidence was particularly clear upon this head. This practice included violence, and often bloodshed. The inhumanity of it therefore could not be doubted.

"The unhappy victims, being thus procured, were conveyed, he said, across the Atlantic in a manner which justified the charge of inhumanity again. Indeed the suffering here was so great, that neither the mind could conceive nor the tongue describe it. He had said on a former occasion, that in their transportation there was a greater portion of misery condensed within a smaller space, than had ever existed in the known world. He would repeat his words, for he did not know, how he could express himself better on the subject. And, after all these horrors, what was their destiny? It was such, as justified the charge in the resolution again: for, after having survived the sickness arising from the passage, they were doomed to interminable slavery.

"He intreated their lordships, to endeavor to conceive the hard case of the unhappy victims of it; and as he had led them to the last stage of their miserable existence, which was in the colonies, to contemplate it there. They were there under the arbitrary will of a cruel task-master from morning till night. When they went to rest, would not their dreams be frightful? When they awoke, would they not awake

"only to discover sights of woe,  
Regions of sorrow, doleful shades, where peace  
And rest can never dwell, hope never comes  
That comes to all; but torture without end  
Still urges!"

"They knew no change, except in the humor of their masters, to whom their whole destiny was entrusted. We might perhaps flatter ourselves with saying, that they were subject to the will of Englishmen. But Englishmen were not better than others, when in possession of arbitrary power. The very fairest exercise of it was a never-failing corrupter of the heart. But suppose it were allowed, that self-interest might operate some little against cruelty; yet where was the interest of the overseer or the driver? But he knew it would be said, that the evils complained of in the colonies had been mitigated. There might be instances of this; but they could never be cured, while slavery existed. Slavery took away more than half of the human character. Hence the practice, where it existed, of rejecting the testimony of the slave: but, if his testimony was rejected, where could be his redress against his oppressor?

"Having shown the inhumanity, he would proceed to the second point in the resolution, or the injustice, of the trade. We had two ideas of justice; first, as it belonged to society by virtue of a social compact; and secondly, as it belonged to men, not as citizens of a community, but as beings of one common nature. In a state of nature, man had a right to the fruit of his own labour absolutely to himself; and one of the main purposes, for which he entered into society, was, that

he might be better protected in the possession of his rights. In both cases, therefore, it was manifestly unjust, that a man should be made to labor during the whole of his life, and yet have no benefit from his labor. Hence the slave-trade and the colonial slavery were a violation of the very principle, upon which all law for the protection of property was founded. Whatever benefit was derived from that trade to an individual, it was derived from dishonor and dishonesty. He forced from the unhappy victim of it that, which the latter did not wish to give him; and he gave to the same victim that, which he in vain attempted to show, was an equivalent to the thing he took, it being a thing for which there was no equivalent, and which, if he had not obtained by force, he would not have possessed at all. The injustice complained of was not confined to the bare circumstance of robbing them of the right to their own labor. It was conspicuous throughout the system. They, who bought them, became guilty of all the crimes which had been committed in procuring them; and, when they possessed them, of all the crimes which belonged to their inhuman treatment. The injustice in the latter case amounted frequently to murder. For what was it but murder to pursue a practice, which produced untimely death to thousands of innocent and helpless beings? It was a duty which their lordships owed to their Creator, if they hoped for mercy, to do away this monstrous oppression."

### WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE.

*Shylock.* What judgment shall I dread, doing no wrong?  
 You have among you many a purchased slave,\*  
 Which, like your asses, and your dogs, and mules,  
 You use in abject and in slavish parts,  
 Because you bought them:—shall I say to you,  
 Let them be free, marry them to your heirs?  
 Why sweat they under burthens? let their beds  
 Be made as soft as yours, and let their palates  
 Be season'd with such viands? you will answer,  
 The slaves are ours:—so do I answer you:  
 The pound of flesh, which I demand of him,  
 Is dearly bought, is mine, and I will have it;  
 If you deny me, fie upon your law!

### SAMUEL JOHNSON.

\* This argument, considered as used to the particular persons, seems conclusive. I see not how Venitians or Englishmen, while they practice the purchase and sale of slaves, can much enforce or demand the law of doing to others as we would that they should do to us.

### JOHN MILTON.

O execrable son, so to aspire  
 Above his brethren, he himself assuming  
 Authority usurped from God, not given.  
 —Man over men  
 He made not lord; such title to *Himself*  
 Reserving, human left from human free.

In all things that have beauty, there is nothing to man more comely than liberty.  
 Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely, above all liberties.



## ALEXANDER POPE.

Some safer world in depths of woods embraced,  
 Some happier island in the watery waste;  
 Where slaves once more their native land behold,  
 No fiends torment, no Christians thirst for gold.

*Essay on Man.*

God fix'd it certain, that, whatever day  
 Makes man a slave, takes half his worth away.

*Homer's Odyssey.*

## JOSEPH ADDISON.

O Liberty, thou goddess heav'nly bright,  
 Profuse of bliss, and pregnant with delight!  
 Eternal pleasures in thy presence reign,  
 And smiling plenty leads thy wanton train;  
 Eas'd of her load, subjection grows more light,  
 And poverty looks cheerful in thy sight;  
 Thou mak'st the gloomy face of nature gay,  
 Giv'st beauty to the sun, and pleasure to the day.

Men's passions operate variously, and appear in different kinds of actions, according as they are more or less rectified or swayed by reason. When one hears of negroes, who, upon the death of their masters, or upon changing their service, hang themselves upon the next tree, as it sometimes happens in our American plantations, who can forbear admiring their fidelity, though it expresses itself in so dreadful a manner? What might not that savage greatness of soul, which appears in these poor wretches on many occasions, be raised to, were it rightly cultivated? And what color of excuse can there be for the contempt with which we treat this part of our species; that we should not put them upon the common foot of humanity; that we should only set an insignificant fine upon the man who murders them; nay, that we should, as much as in us lies, cut them off from the prospects of happiness in another world as well as in this; and deny them that which we look upon as the proper means for attaining it?

*Spectator, and Murray's English Reader.*

## ROBERT BURNS.

If I'm designed yon lordling's slave,  
 By Nature's law design'd,  
 Why was an independent wish  
 Ere planted in my mind?  
 If not, why am I subject to  
 His cruelty or scorn?  
 Or why has man the will and power  
 To make his fellow mourn?

Then let us pray that come it may,  
 As come it shall for a' that,  
 That sense and worth o'er all the earth  
 Shall bear the grace, an' a' that.  
 For a' that, an' a' that,  
 It's coming yet, for a' that;  
 When man to man, the world all o'er,  
 Shall brothers be, an' a' that.

Here's Freedom to them that would read,  
 Here's Freedom to them that would write,  
 There's none ever fear'd that the truth should be heard,  
 But they whom the truth would indict,  
 May Liberty meet with success,  
 May Prudence protect it from evil,  
 May tyrants and tyranny tinge in their mist,  
 And wander their way to the devil.

## WILLIAM COWPER.

Man finds his fellow guilty of a skin  
 Not colored like his own; and having pow'r  
 To enforce the wrong, for such a *worthy cause*  
 Dooms and devotes him as his lawful prey.  
 Thus man devotes his brother, and destroys;  
 And worse than all, and most to be deplor'd,  
 As human nature's broadest, foulest blot,  
 Chains him, and tasks him, and exacts his sweat  
 With stripes that mercy with a bleeding heart  
 Weeps when she sees inflicted on a beast.  
 Then what is man? And what man, seeing this,  
 And having human feelings, does not blush  
 And hang his head, to think himself a man?  
 I would not have a slave to till my ground,  
 To carry me, to fan me while I sleep,  
 And tremble when I wake, for all the wealth  
 That sinews bought and sold have ever earn'd.  
 No! dear as freedom is, and in my heart's  
 Just estimation priz'd above all price,  
 I had much rather be myself the slave,  
 And wear the bonds, than fasten them on him.

The tender ties of parent, husband, friend,  
 All bonds of Nature, in that moment end.  
 O most degrading of all ills that wait  
 On man, (a mourner in his best estate!)  
 All other sorrows virtue may endure,  
 And find submission more than half a cure;  
 But SLAVERY!! Virtue dreads it as her grave,  
 Patience itself is meanness in a slave.  
 Wait, then, the dawning of a brighter day,  
 And snap the chain the moment when you may.  
 Nature imprints upon whate'er we see  
 That has a heart and life in it, "BE FREE!"

Why did all-creating Nature  
 Make the plant for which we toil?

Sighs must fan it, tears must water,  
 Sweat of ours must dress the soil.  
 Think, ye masters, iron-hearted,  
 Lolling at your jovial boards,  
 Think how many backs have smarted  
 For the sweets your cane affords.  
 Is there, as ye sometimes tell us,  
 Is there one, who reigns on high?  
 Has he bid you buy and sell us,  
 Speaking from his throne the sky?  
 Ask him, if your knotted scourges,  
 Fetters, blood-extorting screws,  
 Are the means which duty urges,  
 Agents of His will to use?  
 Floccy locks and black complexion  
 Cannot forfeit nature's claim;  
 Skins may differ, but affection  
 Dwells in white and black the same.  
 By our sufferings, since ye brought us  
 To the man-degrading mart,  
 All sustain'd by patience, taught us  
 Only by a broken heart;  
 Deem our nation brutes no longer,  
 Till some reason ye shall find  
 Worthier of regard, and stronger,  
 Than the color of our kind.  
 Slaves of gold! whose sordid dealings  
 Tarnish all your boasted powers,  
 Prove that you have human feelings,  
 Ere you proudly question ours.

*The Negro's Complaint.*

### WILLIAM ROSCOE.

Offspring of love divine, Humanity!  
 To whom, his eldest born, th' Eternal gave  
 Dominion o'er the heart; and taught to touch  
 Its varied stops in sweetest unison;  
 And strike the string that from a kindred breast  
 Responsive vibrates! from the noisy haunts  
 Of mercantile confusion, where thy voice  
 Is heard not; from the meretricious glare  
 Of crowded theatres, where in thy place  
 Sits Sensibility, with wat'ry eye,  
 Dropping o'er fancied woes her useless tear;—  
 Come thou, and weep with me substantial ills;  
 And execrate the wrongs that Afric's sons,  
 Torn from their natal shore, and doom'd to bear  
 The yoke of servitude in foreign climes,  
 Sustain. Nor vainly let our sorrows flow,  
 Nor let the strong emotion rise in vain;  
 But may the kind contagion widely spread,  
 Till in its flame the unrelenting heart  
 Of avarice melt in softest sympathy—  
 And one bright blaze of universal love  
 In grateful incense rises up to Heaven!

Form'd with the same capacity of pain,  
 The same desire of pleasure and of ease,  
 Why feels not man for man! When nature shrinks  
 From the slight puncture of an insect's sting,

Faints, if not screen'd from sultry suns, and pines  
 Beneath the hardship of an hour's delay  
 Of needful nutriment;—when Liberty  
 Is priz'd so dearly, that the slightest breath  
 That ruffles but her mantle, can awake  
 To arms unwearied nations, and can rouse  
 Confederate states to vindicate her claims :—  
 How shall the sufferer man his fellow doom  
 To ills he mourns or spurns at; tear with stripes  
 His quivering flesh; with hunger and with thirst  
 Waste his emaciate frame; in ceaseless toils  
 Exhaust his vital powers; and bind his limbs  
 In galling chains! Shall he, whose fragile form  
 Demands continual blessings to support  
 Its complicated texture, air, and food,  
 Raiment, alternate rest, and kindly skies,  
 And healthful seasons, dare with impious voice  
 To ask those mercies, whilst his selfish aim  
 Arrests the general freedom of their course;  
 And, gratified beyond his utmost wish,  
 Debars another from the bounteous store!

*Wrongs of Africa.*

#### HANNAH MORE.

See the dire victim torn from social life,  
 The shrieking babe, the agonizing wife!  
 She! wretch forlorn, is dragg'd by hostile hands  
 To distant tyrants, sold to distant lands,  
 Transmitted miseries and successive chains,  
 The sole sad heritage her child obtains!  
 E'en this last wretched boon their foes deny,  
 To live together, or together die.  
 By felon hands, by one relentless stroke,  
 See the fond links of feeling nature broke!  
 The fibres twisting round a parent's heart,  
 Torn from their grasp, and bleeding as they part.  
 What wrongs, what injuries does Oppression plead,  
 To smoothe the crime and sanctify the deed?  
 What strange offence, what aggravated sin?  
 They stand convicted—of a darker skin!

#### JAMES MONTGOMERY.

Lives there a reptile baser than the slave?  
 Loathsome as death, corrupted as the grave.  
 See the dull creole, at his pompous board,  
 Attendant vassals cringing round their lord;  
 Sate with food, his heavy eyelids close,  
 Voluptuous minions fan him to repose;  
 Prone on the noonday couch he lolls in vain,  
 Delirious slumbers rack his maudlin brain;  
 He starts with horror from bewildering dreams,  
 His bloodshot eye with fire and frenzy gleams,  
 He stalks abroad; through all his wonted rounds,  
 The negro trembles, and the lash resounds,  
 And cries of anguish shrilling through the air,  
 To distant fields his dread approach declare.

Mark, as he passes, every head declined;  
 Then slowly raised, to curse him from behind.  
 This is the veriest wretch on nature's face,  
 Own'd by no country, spurn'd by every race;  
 The tether'd tyrant of one narrow span,  
 The bloated vampyre of a living man;  
 His frame, a fungus form, of dunghill birth,  
 That taints the air, and rots above the earth:  
 His soul! has he a soul, whose sensual breast  
 Of selfish passions is a serpent's nest?  
 Who follows, headlong, ignorant, and blind,  
 The vague brute-instinct of an idiot mind;  
 Whose heart, 'midst scenes of suffering, senseless grown,  
 E'en from his mother's lap was chilled to stone;  
 Whose torpid pulse no social feelings move;  
 A stranger to the tenderness of love;  
 His motley harem charms his gloating eye,  
 Where ebon, brown, and olive beauties vie;  
 His children sprung alike from sloth and vice,  
 Aro born his slaves, and loved at market price.  
 Has he a soul?—With his departing breath,  
 A form shall hail him at the gates of death,  
 The spectre Conscience! shrieking through the gloom,  
 "Man, we shall meet again beyond the tomb!"

#### THOMAS CAMPBELL.

And say, supernal Powers! who deeply scan  
 Heav'n's dark decree, unfathom'd yet by man,  
 When shall the world call down to cleanse her shame,  
 That embryo spirit, yet without a name,  
 That friend of Nature, whose avenging hands  
 Shall burst the Lybian's adamantine bands?  
 Who, sternly marking on his native soil,  
 The blood, the tears, the anguish, and the toil,  
 Shall bid each righteous heart exult, to see  
 Peace to the slave, and vengeance on the free!

Yet, yet, degraded man! th' expected day  
 That breaks your bitter cup, is far away;  
 Trade, wealth, and fashion, ask you still to bleed,  
 And holy men give scripture for the deed;  
 Scourg'd and debas'd no Briton stoops to save  
 A wretch, a coward; yes, because a slave!

Eternal Nature! when thy giant hand  
 Had heav'd the floods, and fix'd the trembling land,  
 When life sprung startling at thy plastic call,  
 Endless her form, and Man the lord of all!  
 Say, was that lordly form inspir'd by thee  
 To wear eternal chains, and bow the knee?  
 Was man ordain'd the slave of man to toil,  
 Yok'd with the brutes, and fetter'd to the soil;  
 Weigh'd in a tyrant's balance with his gold?  
 No! Nature stamp'd us in a heavenly mould!  
 She bade no wretch his thankless labor urge,  
 Nor, trembling, take the pittance and the scourge!  
 No homeless Lybian, on the stormy deep,  
 To call upon his country's name and weep!

*Pleasures of Hope.*

## ERASMUS DARWIN.

Wrench'd the red scourge from proud Oppression's hands,  
And broke, curst Slavery! thy iron bands.

E'en now, e'en now, on yonder western shores  
Weeps pale Despair, and writhing Anguish roars;  
E'en now in Afric's groves with hideous yell  
Fierce SLAVERY stalks and slips the dogs of hell;  
From vale to vale the gathering cries rebound  
And sable nations tremble at the sound.—

—Who right the injured, and reward the brave,  
Stretch your strong arm, for ye have power to save!  
Throned in the vaulted heart, his dread resort;  
Inexorable CONSCIENCE holds his court;  
With still small voice the plots of guilt alarms,  
Bares his masked brow, his lifted hand disarms;  
But, wrapp'd in night, with terrors all his own,  
He speaks in thunders when the deed is done.  
Hear him, ye Senates! hear this truth sublime,  
*He who allows oppression shares the crime.*

*"Botanic Garden."*

## JOHN STEWART.

It is from the fatal preponderance of passion over reason, that the atrocious and damnable **TRADE in HUMAN FLESH** is sanctified; an act so infamous, that could all the crimes which history records be collected and consolidated into one, it would lose its nature of atrocity and become a virtue, when placed in comparison with the slave-trade, considered in its double flagitiousness of first buying the human species and then destroying them. It is inconceivable, that an assembly of a nation can be guilty of an act, that no individual who has not degraded himself below his species, and familiarized his ear to the association of his name with that of villain and scoundrel but would feel a horror of committing. Though legislative accomplices may cover his shame, and screen him from public censure, yet how, in the name of truth, if he possesses a well-organized mind and body, and but a common share of reflection, (or rather the pre-eminent and characteristic share of an Englishman,) how can he esteem himself, when conscience will ever upbraid him with the participation in an act whose flagitiousness is so great, that unless he renounces the character of man, his very share would be sufficient to sink him into the most ignominious contempt, and draw upon him more remorse than would the catalogue of all the acted and imagined crimes in nature.—*The Moral State of Nations.*

## SIR WILLIAM JONES.

I pass with haste by the coast of Africa, whence my mind turns with indignation at the abominable traffic in the human species, from which a part of our countrymen dare to derive their inauspicious wealth. Sugar, it has been said, would be dear if it were not worked by blacks; as if the most laborious, the most dangerous works were not carried on in every country by freemen; in fact, they are so carried on with infinitely more advantage, for there is alacrity in a consciousness of freedom, and a gloomy, sullen indolence in a consciousness of slavery. But let sugar be as dear as it may, it is better to eat none, to eat honey, if sweetness only be palatable; better to eat aloes or coloquintida, than violate a primary law of nature, impressed on every heart not imbruted by avarice; than rob one human creature of those eternal rights of which no law upon earth can justly deprive him.

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What constitutes a State?

Not high raised monuments or labor'd mound,  
Thick wall or moated gate;  
Not cities proud, with spires and turrets crown'd;  
Not bays and broad arm'd ports,  
Where, laughing at the storm, rich navies ride.  
Not start'd and spangled courts,  
Where low brow'd baseness wafts perfume to pride.  
No! men, high-minded men!  
With powers as far above dull brutes endued  
In forest, brake, or den,  
As beasts excel cold rocks and brambles rude;  
Men who their duties know,  
But know their rights, and knowing, dare maintain,  
Prevent the long aim'd blow,  
And crush the tyrant while they rend the chain!  
These constitute a State.

*True Politics.*

## EDWARD LYTTON BULWER.

It is in vain that they oppose OPINION; any thing else they may subdue. They may conquer wind, water, nature itself; but to the progress of that secret, subtle, pervading spirit, their imagination can devise, their strength can accomplish, no bar; *its votaries* they may seize, they may destroy; *itself*, they cannot touch. If they check it in one place, it invades them in another. They cannot build a wall across the whole earth; and even if they could, it would pass over its summit! Chains cannot bind it, for it is immaterial—nor dungeons enclose it, for it is universal. Over the faggot and the scaffold—over the bending bodies which they pile against its path, it sweeps on with a noiseless, but unceasing march. Do they bring

armies against it, it presents to them no palpable object to oppose. Its camp is the universe; its asylum the bosoms of their own soldiers. Let them depopulate, destroy as they please, to each extremity of the earth; but as long as they have a single supporter themselves—as long as they leave a single individual into whom that spirit can enter, so long they will have the same labors to encounter, and the same enemy to subdue.—*The Spanish Patriot Riego's Reflections on Tyrants.*

## HENRY BROUGHAM.

Tell me not of rights—talk not of the property of the planter in his slaves. I deny the right—I acknowledge not the property. The principles, the feelings, of our common nature, rise in rebellion against it. Be the appeal made to the understanding or to the heart, the sentence is the same that rejects it. In vain you tell me of laws that sanction such a claim! There is a law above all the enactments of human codes—the same throughout the world, the same in all times—such as it was before the daring genius of Columbus pierced the night of ages, and opened to one world the sources of power, wealth, and knowledge; to another, all unutterable woes; such it is at this day: it is the law written by the finger of God on the heart of man; and by that law, unchangeable and eternal, while men despise fraud, and loathe rapine, and abhor blood, they shall reject with indignation the wild and guilty fantasy, that man can hold property in man! In vain you appeal to treaties, to covenants between nations. The covenants of the Almighty, whether the old or the new, denounce such unholy pretensions. To those laws did they of old refer, who maintained the African trade. Such treaties did they cite, and not untruly; for by one shameful compact, you bartered the glories of Blenheim for the traffic in blood! Yet, in despite of law and of treaties, that infernal traffic is now destroyed, and its votaries put to death like other pirates. How came this change to pass? Not assuredly by parliament leading the way; but the country at length awoke; the indignation of the people was kindled; it descended in thunder, and smote the traffic, and scattered its guilty profits to the winds. . . .

One word before I sit down, and that shall be in reference to those other countries which, by a singular coincidence, obtained their freedom about the same period when we began our effective struggle—the Americans having obtained their political freedom about the time when Thomas Clarkson began to agitate the question of the slave-trade, and the French having obtained their restoration to freedom in the very same month when Yorkshire enabled us, by the spirit which it then exhibited, to accomplish the great object of emancipation, for which we had previously so long struggled in vain. That being the case, is it not melancholy as it regards France—is it not unspeakably mournful—nay, is it not absolutely monstrous (I use the term



without meaning offence,) as regards America—is it not matter of the profoundest wonder, that in a country which boasts of being the freest (and, politically speaking, it is one of the freest on the face of the earth,) should be the country which seems to cling the most closely to the slavery of the negroes, a slavery which, when compared with the fetters which they (the Americans) so nobly burst asunder, in their resistance to the oppressions of the mother country, may be compared to straws laid upon the back of a camel? (Cheers.) Can this endure—can such an anomaly be perpetuated—can so gross, so violent, so egregious an inconsistency continue among 13,000,000 of enlightened men? I pronounce it impossible. (Hear, hear.) I have always stood forward as the fast friend of America. I have no doubt that the advice I now give here in a spirit of candor and friendship, will be received by her in the spirit in which it is offered.

### THOMAS FOWELL BUXTON.

Mr. T. F. Buxton, in bringing forward his promised motion on the subject of the slave-trade, observed, that no person who had not witnessed the atrocities of that abominable traffic, could have an adequate conception of the crimes, miseries, and cruelties to which it gave rise. He requested the attention of the house to facts which he should lay before them from parliamentary documents—facts that indicated the extent to which the slave-trade was now carried on. He held in his hand a list of importations of slaves into the Brazils. The return from the British Consuls from the 1st of January, 1829, to the 30th June, 1830, a period of one year and a half, was as follows, viz. :—

	Slaves.	Ships.	Died on the passage.
Para,	779	6	30
Maranhão,	1,253	13	89
Pernambuco,	8,079	26	308
Bahia,	22,203	70	768
Rio de Janeiro,	81,956	200	7,912
	<hr/> 114,268	<hr/> 315	<hr/> 9,107

In three years and a half, 150,537 slaves were introduced into Brazil through the single port of Rio de Janeiro. But this did not include the whole number departed from Africa; it only extended to the number introduced alive: we know nothing of the amount of mortality that occurred among the slaves on their passage. In 1830 the slave-trade had been legally abolished, notwithstanding which, however, he was sorry to say it now proceeded with almost as much activity as ever. This he gathered from the report of the Minister of Marine to the Legislative Assembly, which was as follows:—"Rio de Janeiro, June 17, 1833.—Well known are the tricks resorted to by speculators, as sordid as they are criminal, to continue the disgraceful traffic in slaves, in spite of all the legislative provisions and

orders issued respecting it, which have been most scandalously eluded. It, therefore, appears necessary to the government to have recourse to the most efficacious means, which are, to arm a sufficient number of small vessels to form a sort of cordon sanitaire, which may prevent the access to our shores of those swarms of Africans that are continually poured forth from ships employed in so abominable a traffic."

*Of treaties.*—Those which are already in existence had been most shamefully violated by foreign powers. There were four points to which it was necessary to attend in the formation of a perfect treaty for the suppression of the slave-trade. In the first place, the slave-trade ought to be declared to be piracy; 2dly, the mutual right of search ought to be established; 3dly, that right ought to extend along the whole coast of Africa, where the slave-trade existed; and 4thly, vessels being equipped for the slave-trade should be subject to capture and condemnation, though having no slaves on board. Now it so happened that in all treaties hitherto drawn up for the suppression of the slave-trade, one or other of these points had invariably been omitted. It was the most important that there should be one uniform treaty on this subject. He was happy to believe that no difficulty would be found in inducing France to concur in some effectual treaty to put a stop to the traffic in slaves, and he did hope that with regard to Spain and Portugal a better feeling began to prevail on this subject than had been entertained by former governments of those countries. But, whatever might be the disposition of Spain, England had a right to demand the effectual co-operation of that country in the suppression of the slave-trade. Nothing could be stronger than the language of the treaty concluded with Spain, and England had in fact paid £400,000 to Spain for the suppression of the slave-trade.

Before concluding, he would mention one fact, which had made a greater impression on his mind than almost any thing else. In addition to the desolation which this shameful traffic created in Africa, it was the cause of the destruction of not less than 100,000 persons, year by year, and this large number of human beings were sacrificed for the purpose of enriching miscreants, the acknowledged enemies of the human race, who, if justice had been done, would undoubtedly have died the death of murderers and pirates. (Hear, hear.)—*Speech in the British House of Commons, May 12. 1835.*

*To the Secretary of the American Anti-Slavery Society:*

LONDON, April 10, 1835.

Dear Sir,—I cannot help, at this juncture, expressing to you the deep, heartfelt, and cordial interest I take in the progress of the great question of the abolition of slavery in your country. Peculiarly impeded as it is in many ways, I cannot feel a doubt but that the same principle, which carried it through here, will also be found irresistible in America. I mean the principle, or rather the plain, naked truth, that slavery is a crime—and that, therefore, it must be abolished.

It may be gratifying to you to know that the original document by

which your first Anti-Slavery Society was formed, and signed Benjamin Franklin, is in my possession.

The intelligence we receive from all quarters in our West India colonies is highly satisfactory. Mr. Hume told me a day or two ago that he had received a letter from his relation, Mr. Burnley of Trinidad—(who has been of all men the most hostile to our proceedings)—stating that his views had entirely altered—and that so far from regretting the abolition of slavery, he would not, if he could, return to the old system, and this, because the negroes in a state of freedom were so much more industrious than they had been as slaves.

Heartily praying that the abolition of slavery in America, and all over the world, may be immediate and peaceful, believe me, your faithful friend and coadjutor.

THOS. FOWELL BUXTON.

### ELIZABETH HEYRICK.

An *immediate* emancipation is the object to be aimed at; it is more wise and rational—more politic and safe, as well as more just and humane, than gradual emancipation. The interests, moral and political, temporal and eternal, of all parties concerned, will be best promoted by *immediate* emancipation. The sooner the planter is obliged to abandon a system which torments him with perpetual alarms of insurrection and massacre—which keeps him in the most debasing moral bondage—subjects him to a tyranny, of all others the most injurious and destructive, that of sordid and vindictive passions; the sooner he is obliged to adopt a more humane and more *lucrative* policy in the cultivation of his plantations; the sooner the over-labored, crouching slave is converted into a free laborer—his compulsory, unremunerated toil, under the impulse of the cart-whip, exchanged for cheerful, well recompensed industry,—his bitter sufferings for peaceful enjoyment—his deep execration of his merciless tyrants, for respectful attachment to his humane and equitable masters; the sooner the government and the people of this country purify themselves from the guilt of supporting or tolerating a system of such monstrous injustice, productive of such complicated enormities,—the sooner all this mass of impolicy, crime, and suffering, is got rid of, the better.

It behoves the advocates of this great cause, then, to take the most direct, the most speedy and effectual means of accomplishing their object. If any can be devised more direct, more speedy and effectual or less exceptionable in its operation than that which has been suggested, let it be immediately adopted; but let us no longer compromise the requisitions of humanity and justice for those of an artful and sordid policy; let there be no betraying of the cause by needless delay; delay is always dangerous; on this momentous question, (humanly speaking) it will be fatal, if much longer protracted.

## HARRIET MARTINEAU.

Labor is the product of mind as much as of body; and to secure that product, we must sway the mind by the natural means—by motives. Laboring against self-interest is what nobody ought to expect of white men—much less of slaves. Of course every man, woman, and child, would rather play for nothing than work for nothing.

It is the mind which gives sight to the eye, and hearing to the ear, and strength to the limbs; and the mind cannot be purchased. Where a man is allowed the possession of himself, the purchaser of his labor is benefited by the vigor of his mind through the service of his limbs: where man is made the possession of another, the possessor loses at once and for ever all that is most valuable in that for which he has paid the price of crime. He becomes the owner of that which only differs from an idiot in being less easily drilled into habits, and more capable of effectual revenge.

Cattle are fixed capital, and so are slaves: but slaves differ from cattle on the one hand, in yielding (from internal opposition) a less return for their maintenance; and from free laborers on the other hand, in not being acted upon by the inducements which stimulate production as an effort of mind as well as of body. In all three cases the labor is purchased. In free laborers and cattle, all the faculties work together, and to advantage; in the slave they are opposed; and therefore he is, so far as the amount of labor is concerned, the least valuable of the three. The negroes *can* invent and improve—witness their ingenuity in their dwellings, and their skill in certain of their sports; but their masters will never possess their faculties, though they have purchased their limbs. Our true policy would be to divide the work of the slave between the ox and the hired laborer; we should get more out of the sinews of the one and the soul of the other, than the produce of double the number of slaves.—*Demerara.*

## BENJAMIN GODWIN.

We perceive by this West-Indian view of slave happiness, the benevolence of those who oppose the impartation of knowledge to the negro mind. Let not a ray of light fall on the mental vision of a slave; let him know nothing of Christianity but a few outward and lifeless forms; make him as stupid and thoughtless as a beast, with no reflection on the past, no care for the future, no sense of wrongs, no idea of right, no care for his soul, no knowledge that he has one; and in this condition give him enough to eat and drink, and allow him the indulgence of his sensual appetites,—and you have the model of a perfect slave, in the very heaven of his enjoyment!

But it is further said, that it is the interest of planters to use their slaves well; and, therefore, without any reference to a sense of

justice or to the feelings of humanity, the same principle which is sufficient to induce a man to take care of his cattle must operate in favor of the slave. That this species of selfishness may, in the absence of higher motives, do something for the poor slave, we readily admit; but that it is a sufficient guarantee for his comfort and general welfare, we deny, for these reasons: first, that this motive where it exists, is not so uniform and certain in its operation as to secure its object; and in the next place, that there are cases where there is no room for its operation, and where it may even act in direct opposition to the welfare of the slave.

It is a man's interest, we know, to use his cattle well, and to take care that those who work them treat them properly; but, notwithstanding this, does not the brute creation groan under the cruelties of man? How many are injured through mere wantonness! how many through thoughtlessness! and how many a noble animal has been shamefully abused in a moment of passion! Besides, the owners of cattle are not always with them, and may even never see many of them; and men who have no interest in them may have the care and the working of them. Certainly, in the opinion of our legislature, this motive was not deemed sufficient, or why was an Act of Parliament passed to prevent cruelty to animals? And for similar reasons the interest of the slave-owner in his slaves is no sufficient security against ill treatment. Thoughtlessness, wantonness, inebriety, the ebullitions of anger, or that irritation which blinds the mind even to a man's own interests, may work misery to the slave—as in the case of the young gentleman, already mentioned, who shot a slave for sport; or of Mr. and Mrs. Moss, for instance, who by a series of cruelties, destroyed a female who might long have served them.

But the interest of the master does not always run parallel with the slave's welfare. It may happen that circumstances may be such, that a degree of labor which is destructive to the slave may enrich his owner; that the gains arising from an extra effort, during a certain state of the markets, may afford an ample indemnification for the loss of a few negroes, and the injury which the rest may receive.\* When the cause to be tried is, the master's gain against the slave's comfort or life, there is great danger of a verdict against the slave: at least, as far as self-interest is concerned.—*Lectures on Slavery.*

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### E. S. ABDY.

It is a benefit to expose the lie of a sect, a party, a heresy, a faction—but most of all it is a benefit to expose the lie of a whole nation, and heedless of their boasts and self-gratulations, to bring forth into

\* Many slaves are annually sacrificed upon the sugar and cotton plantations in our country. It is calculated by the southern economists, that it is cheaper to use up the slaves by requiring extra exertions from them in certain seasons, than to procure additional hands only for those seasons.—*Am. Ed.*

broad daylight the dead men's bones and unclean things of the whitened sepulchre.

Now there is no nation on the face of the earth which claims so high a place in the admiration, yea, we may say, *the adoration* of all people, tongues, and languages, as the North American Union. The vain and vaunting people of this noble portion of the globe are cursed with an insatiable thirst for adulation; they never can praise themselves too much, and never think that others have praised them half enough. They extol their constitution, their laws, their customs, their manners, their principles, their learning, their science, their commercial speculations, their fleets, and their armies with unceasing praise. It seems to be inscribed on the bold front of every Yankee, "*Let every thing that hath breath praise the United States of North America.*" They compare themselves with their own rivers and forests, their mountains, their lakes, and their plains; and thus come to think their moral excellencies as stupendous as the physical excellencies of their soil, and requiring a vast and hyperbolical language duly to set them forth. The very reverse, however, is the process in the minds of those who approach as calm spectators to discover the truth and to detect the lie; for if our enthusiasm kindles amongst the multiplying images of greatness and beauty, if the mind expands with exulting thoughts on beholding the vast proportions and gigantic splendors of that gorgeous land, we do but sink into a deeper melancholy when we come to study the baseness and grovelling iniquity of the human creatures that defile it; and the magnificence of the country only makes its inhabitants the more contemptible. A view of the national sin of America, after admiring the natural grandeur of their country, is like discovering the object of worship in the old temples of Egypt; where, after the stranger had walked bewildered through vistas of superb architecture, he came at last to the filthy idol,—a mouthing and obscene Ape, playing its pranks on a throne of gold! And this is the thing to be worshipped in America—a mockery and disgrace of the human character "enthroned in the West"—a nation of slave-drivers masquerading it with the cap of liberty,—a Christian people excelling all the heathen tribes of the world in systematic wickedness,—a free republic exercising greater oppression than was ever heard of in the old king-scourged and priest-ridden despotisms of Europe.

To talk of a slave's labor being *due* to his master, is to insult common sense and common decency. While the latter can coin dollars out of the sweat and tears of his victim he will do so. "The law allows it, and the court awards it." It is this clause, however, in the constitution, which renders the free states tributary to the ambition of the slave states, and accessories to all their guilt;—makes the boasted asylum of the persecuted, the prison-house of the unfortunate; and converts the guardians of liberty, into the turnkeys of its assassins,

I can truly and honestly declare, that the orderly and obliging behaviour I observed among them, the decent and comfortable arrangements I witnessed in their houses—the anxiety they expressed for the education of their children, and their own improvement—the industry which was apparent in all about them, and the intelligence which marked their conversation—their sympathy for one another, and the respect they maintained for themselves—the absence of vindictive feeling against the whites, and the gratitude they evinced towards every one who treats them with common civility and regard,—far surpassed the expectation I had formed, of finding among them something more elevated than the instinct of monkeys united to the passions of men. They are “not only almost, but altogether such as” the white man—except the bonds he has fastened on their bodies or their minds.—*Residence and Tour in the United States, 1833—1835.*

### WESTMINSTER REVIEW.

If the reader rises from the perusal of these volumes of E. S. Abdy with a highly reduced opinion of American intellect and morals, and a strong sense of the insult put upon the liberals of Europe by the affectation of fraternity with which they have been honored, it will be accompanied with an increased hatred of oppression, and increased love of liberty as a principle. With a form of government vastly more favorable for human improvement than that of their English progenitors, the Americans, probably from the effect of climate, which has produced so many other variations in the animal kingdom, have gone backward and not forward, and present a caricature of all the worst qualities of the worst Englishmen of the worst times. Slavery is so utterly abhorrent to every respectable individual in this country, that it would be a waste of argument to reason against its continuance; while those who have profited by it, like others who have been guilty of nefarious practices, are beyond the pale of reason on the subject.

“The best of men have ever loved repose.” And the slave is no exception to the general rule, that some stimulus is necessary to induce mankind to labor. When no pecuniary bribe is offered him, he can by no skill in reasoning be shown the moral obligation under which he lies, to exert himself in behalf of his master. And therefore, the *ultima ratio* of the whip is called in requisition. This is used with less or more discretion, according to the temper, the judgment, the taste, and sometimes perhaps the conscience, of the master or mistress.

The tearing asunder family ties, the banishment, the mart, the jealous confinement and surveillance of new masters, the whole horrors of the slave-trade, are brought into active operation in the heart of the United States, whose citizens the while, expect to sit at

table with civilized men, and be treated with more reverence than the kindred barbarians of Ashantee

Bad as is the state of the slaves in the more northern states, they uniformly regard the South with more horror than our thieves at home do the hulks. The loss by death alone to the Louisiana planters, in bringing slaves from the North, is estimated at twenty-five per cent. The sugar factories and rice swamps, the slaves know to be rapid and rough highroads to the grave. And they are well acquainted with the stories of the greater rigor of the southern drivers. It is true that the more respectable Virginian proprietors decline selling their negroes so long as they conduct themselves to their satisfaction, and even make this rule in some degree a point of honor.

So extensive is the brown population, and so varied are tints of complexion, that not only are there many slaves who are not distinguishable from whites, for the children of slave mothers are slaves to all generations, though the father at every step may have been white, but there are actually many instances of slaves being liberated, on their proving that they were full-bred white persons, and had been kidnapped in their youth and sold. The fairest complexioned slaves often bring the highest price, being preferred as body servants.

Mr. Abdy's book reads a moral lesson to the American people which cannot be too much insisted on. It is the right of the civilized world to combine in placing them in quarantine till they are less discreditable to their ancestors. Will any Englishmen sit at meat with a nation that *sell one another by weight*?

It is by no means certain, that civilization did not come to Egypt out of Ethiopia; and it is quite certain that the Indians, who pass for "black fellows" in the vocabulary of these white philosophers, were a civilized and learned race, when our progenitors were painting their skins and roasting one another alive.

The Americans cannot *all* have got the iron into their souls, the sore remembrance, like what in some families is understood to produce the aversion to a rope; what, for instance, has the blood of the puritans, or of the men of the civil wars, (of which Europe was not worthy,) to do with the scoundrelism of slave-making? They will find out in time, that mankind despise them for it; and that the true mark of the beast, far beyond all hawking and spitting, and even picking of teeth with a fork, is believing in the superiority of the hickory-faced animal. In Europe, a stronger feeling is fast gaining ground. The liberals there have an arrear to settle, for the disgrace unwittingly brought upon them by American association. A quarter of a century may be allowed for the check of European freedom, arising out of the misfortune of having connected its cause with these habitual abrogators of the principles of public and private morality, the *hostes humani generis* who by their own acts place themselves at war with all that bears the human form. People may be stout-hearted; but it is a fearful thing to fall into the detestation of the human race.—No. XLVII. for Jan, 1836.



## EDINBURGH REVIEW.

Every American who loves his country, should dedicate his whole life, and every faculty of his soul, to efface the foul blot of slavery from its character. If nations rank according to their wisdom and their virtue, what right has the American, a scourger and murderer of slaves, to compare himself with the least and lowest of the European nations, much more with this great and humane country, where the greatest lord dare not lay a finger on the meanest peasant? What is freedom where all are not free? where the greatest of God's blessings is limited, with impious caprice, to the color of the body? And these are the men who taunt the English with their corrupt parliament, with their buying and selling votes. Let the world judge which is the most liable to censure—we, who in the midst of rottenness, have torn the manacles off slaves all over the world; or they who, with their idle purity and useless perfection, have remained mute and careless while groans echoed and whips cracked round the very walls of their spotless congress. We wish well to America—we rejoice in her prosperity—and are delighted to resist the absurd impertinence with which the character of her people is often treated in this country. But the existence of slavery in America is an atrocious crime, with which no measures can be kept—for *which her situation affords no sort of apology*—which makes liberty itself distrusted, and the boast of it disgusting.—No. LXI. *Art. Travellers in America.*

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 THE FOREIGN QUARTERLY REVIEW.

It is notorious, that, notwithstanding all the treaties which have been concluded between England and other countries for the abolition of the slave-trade, it is still carried on to an enormous extent, because, even if the governments were really sincere in their wishes to suppress this trade, their subjects were wholly averse to a step which they denounced as utter ruin to all interested in the colonies. They have therefore persisted in spite of, perhaps with the connivance of their governments; and in Brazil in particular, it has been officially declared to be out of the power of the legislature to put an end to the traffic. Slaves imported by ships under Portuguese colors are indeed sometimes seized, but we fear that they are employed by the government nearly in the same manner as they would have been if sold to private individuals. But the difficulty of convicting and punishing these violators of the laws is nearly insurmountable.

It is affirmed, that the escape of one slave-ship out of three affords the dealer sufficient profit. What, then, can England do? There is one thing which we think might be tried, and which would probably have a considerable effect in attaining the object desired. It is well

known that it was unanimously resolved by the sovereigns at the Congress of Vienna, that the slave-trade should be abolished all over the world. The Portuguese transmarine possessions were not then separated from the mother country, which it might be hoped would be able to exercise some control over them. They are now independent. *Let England call on the governments of Europe not to allow the importation of colonial produce from any country where it can be proved that the slave-trade is still carried on, either with the sanction or connivance of the government, or in spite of it; such a measure would surely act as a check on the importation of slaves. Could that point be effectually attained, it might be hoped that the extinction of slavery itself would in due time succeed, as it has done in the British colonies.*

### LONDON EVANGELICAL MAGAZINE.

The United States of America present to the world one of the most extraordinary spectacles that can be conceived of by the mind of man. They are a huge moral and political enigma. We behold part of the population priding themselves on the peculiar freedom of their institutions, and holding the other part in the shackles of slavery. They are a people who boast that they are possessed of an "admirable system of public schools, continually spreading into new states; hundreds of academies; 70 or 80 colleges; numerous theological and medical schools; 1,200 newspapers; 8,000 or 10,000 temperance societies, with a million and a half of members; 15,000 or 20,000 Sunday schools, with their libraries and a million of scholars, and taught by 120,000 of the best men and women among them; an evangelical ministry of not less than 11,000 ministers of the gospel," and, which the writer omits to add, nearly *three millions of slaves!* Alas, that a figure with so goodly a bust should terminate in the slimy folds of the serpent!

It is melancholy to behold such a monstrosity; a people judging their own rights with the incontrovertible declaration, "that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness;" and at the same instant depriving their fellow-men perpetually of two of these "inalienable rights," and often directly or indirectly of the third. Most heartily do we concur with our American brethren in the sentiment we here quote. We concur with them when they claim to be free from oppression, but we dissent from them when they claim also to be free to oppress. The national emblem of the American states requires alteration to make it truly emblematical of their present and past condition. The eagle, with liberty on his wings, should, to complete the resemblance, clutch in his talons the manacled and writhing form of the colored man.

Political arrangements! Is he a man, and does he call buying, selling, and lacerating his fellow-men, political arrangements? Is

the flogging of women a political arrangement? Is tearing the child from the mother, and the wife from the husband, a political arrangement? Are all the murders, adulteries, obscenities, and immoralities of every kind, which follow in the train of slavery, political arrangements? We tell him that the curse of God is on such political arrangements, and if they are not altered, we tremble for America.

*February, 1836.*

### GEORGE FOX.

"In his disposition he was meek, and tender, and compassionate. He was kind to the poor, without any exception, and in his own society laid the foundation of that attention towards them, which the world remarks as an honor to the Quaker character at the present day. But the poor were not the only persons for whom he manifested an affectionate concern. He felt and sympathized wherever humanity could be interested. He wrote to the judges on the subject of capital punishments, warning them not to take away the lives of persons for theft. On the coast of Cornwall he was deeply distressed at finding the inhabitants more intent upon plundering the wrecks of vessels that were driven upon their shores, than upon saving the poor and miserable mariners who were clinging to them; and he bore his public testimony against this practice by sending letters to all the clergymen and magistrates in the parishes bordering upon the sea, and reproving them for their unchristian conduct. In the West Indies, also, he exhorted those who attended his meetings, to be merciful to their slaves, and to give them their freedom in due time. He considered these as belonging to their families, and that religious instruction was due to these as the branches of them, for whom, one day or other, they would be required to give a solemn account. Happy had it been if these Christian exhortations had been attended to, or if these families only, whom he thus seriously addressed, had continued to be true Quakers; for they would have set an example, which would have proved to the rest of the islanders and the world at large, that the impolicy is not less than the wickedness of oppression. Thus was GEORGE FOX, probably the first person who publicly declared against this species of slavery. Nothing, in short, that could be deplored by humanity, seems to have escaped his eye; and his benevolence, when excited, appears to have suffered no interruption in its progress by the obstacles which bigotry would have thrown in the way of many, on account of the difference of a person's country, or of his color, or of his sect."—*Portraiture of Quakerism.*

## THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

"In the first place they have made it a rule that no person, acknowledged to be in profession with them, shall have any concern in the slave-trade.

"The Quakers began to consider this subject, as a Christian body, so early as in the beginning of the last century. In the year 1727, they passed a public censure upon this trade. In the year 1753, and afterwards in the year 1761, they warned and exhorted all in profession with them, 'to keep their hands clear of this unrighteous gain of oppression.' In the yearly meeting of 1763, they renewed their exhortation in the following words:

"We renew our exhortation, that Friends everywhere be especially careful to keep their hands clear of giving encouragement in any shape to the slave-trade; it being evidently destructive of the natural rights of mankind, who are all ransomed by one Saviour, and visited by one divine light, in order to salvation; a traffic calculated to enrich and aggrandize some upon the miseries of others; in its nature abhorrent to every just and tender sentiment, and contrary to the whole tenor of the gospel."

"In the same manner from the year 1763, they have publicly manifested a tender concern for the happiness of the injured Africans, and they have not only been vigilant to see that none of their own members were concerned in this nefarious traffic, but they have lent their assistance with other Christians in promoting its discontinuance.

"But this character of a benevolent people has been raised higher of late years in the estimation of the public by new circumstances, or by the unanimous and decided part which they have taken as a body, in behalf of the abolition of the slave-trade. For where has the injured African experienced more sympathy than from the hearts of Quakers? In this great cause the Quakers have been singularly conspicuous. They have been actuated, as it were, by one spring. In the different attempts made for the annihilation of this trade, they have come forward with a religious zeal. They were at the original formation of the committee for this important object, where they gave an almost unexampled attendance for years. I mentioned in the preceding volume, that near a century ago, when this question had not awakened the general attention, it had awakened that of the Quakers as a body; and that they had made regulations in their commercial concerns with a view of keeping themselves clear of the blood of this cruel traffic. And from that time to the present day, they have never forgotten this subject. Their yearly epistles notice it, whenever such notice is considered to be useful. And they hold themselves in readiness, on all fit occasions, to unite their efforts for the removal of this great and shocking source of suffering to their fellow-creatures,"—*Thomas Clarkson's Portraiture of Quakerism.*

## DR. PRIMATT.

It has pleased God to cover some men with white skins, and others with black; but as there is neither merit nor demerit in complexion, the white man, notwithstanding the barbarity of custom and prejudice, can have no right by virtue of his color to enslave and tyrannize over the black man. For whether a man be white or black, such he is by God's appointment, and, abstractedly considered, is neither a subject for pride, nor an object of contempt.—*Dissertation on the Duty of Mercy, and on the Sin of Cruelty to Brute Animals.*

## JOHN WESLEY.

That execrable sum of all villanies commonly called the slave-trade. I read of nothing like it in the heathen world, whether ancient or modern. It infinitely exceeds in every instance of barbarity, whatever Christian slaves suffer in Mohammedan countries.—*His works, Vol. 3, page 341.*

At Liverpool, many large ships are now laid up in the docks, which had been employed for many years in buying or stealing Africans, and selling them in America for slaves. The *men-butchers* have now nothing to do at this laudable occupation. Since the American war broke out, there is no demand for human cattle; so the men of Africa, as well as Europe, may enjoy their native liberty.—*Journal for April, 1777.*

## THOUGHTS ON SLAVERY.

I. Slavery imports an obligation of perpetual service; an obligation which only the consent of the master can dissolve. It generally gives the master an arbitrary power of any correction not affecting life or limb. Sometimes even those are exposed to his will, or protected only by a fine or some slight punishment, too inconsiderable to restrain a master of harsh temper. It creates an incapacity of acquiring any thing, except for the master's benefit. It allows the master to alienate the slave in the same manner as his cows and horses. Lastly, it descends in its full extent, from parent to child, even to the last generation.

2. The slave-trade began in the year 1508, when the Portuguese imported the first negroes into Hispaniola. In 1540, Charles V, then king of Spain, gave positive orders, "THAT ALL THE SLAVES IN THE SPANISH DOMINIONS SHOULD BE SET FREE." This was accordingly done by Lagascar, whom he sent and empowered to free them all. But soon after Lagascar returned to Spain, slavery flourished as before. Afterward other nations, as they acquired possessions in America, followed the example of the Spaniards; and slavery has taken deep root in most of the American colonies.

II. In what manner are they generally procured and treated in America?

1. Part of them by fraud. Captains of ships invited negroes on board, and then carried them away. More have been procured by force. The Christians, so called, landing upon their coasts, seized as many as they found, and transported them to America.

2. It was some time before the Europeans found a more compendious way of procuring African slaves, by prevailing upon them to make war upon each other, and to sell their prisoners. Till then, they seldom had any wars. But the white men taught them drunkenness and avarice, and then hired them to sell one another. Others are stolen. Abundance of little ones of both sexes are stolen away by their neighbors. That their own parents sell them, is utterly false. WHITES, NOT BLACKS, ARE WITHOUT NATURAL AFFECTION.

3. Extract from the journal of a surgeon who went from New York in the slave-trade. "The commander of the vessel sent to acquaint the king that he wanted a cargo of slaves. Some time after, the king sent him word he had not yet met with the desired success. A battle was fought which lasted three days. Four thousand five hundred men were slain upon the spot!" Such is the manner wherein the slaves are procured! **THUS THE CHRISTIANS PREACH THE GOSPEL TO THE HEATHEN!**

4. England supplies her American colonies with slaves, amounting to about a hundred thousand every year. So many are taken aboard the ships; but ten thousand die on the voyage; about a fourth part more die in the seasoning. So that thirty thousand die, that is, are murdered. O earth! O sea! cover not their blood!

5. The negroes are exposed naked to the examination of their purchasers: then they are separated to see each other no more. They are reduced to a state, scarce any way preferable to beasts of burden. A few yams or potatoes are their food; and two rags their covering. Their sleep is very short, their labor continual and above their strength, so that death sets many of them at liberty before they have lived out half their days. They are attended by overseers, who, if they think them dilatory, or any thing not so well done as it should be, whip them unmercifully; so that you may see their bodies long after wheeled and scarred from the shoulders to the waist. Did the Creator intend that the noblest creatures in the visible world should live such a life as this?

6. As to the punishment inflicted on them, they frequently geld them, or chop off half a foot! after they are whipped till they are raw all over, some put pepper and salt upon them; some drop melted wax upon their skin, others cut off their ears, and constrain them to broil and eat them. For rebellion, that is, asserting their native liberty, which they have as much right to as the air they breathe, they fasten them down to the ground with crooked sticks on every limb, and then applying fire to the feet and hands, they burn them gradually to the head!

7. But will not the laws made in the colonies prevent or redress all cruelty and oppression? Take a few of these laws for a specimen, and judge.

In order to rivet the chain of slavery, the law of Virginia ordains—"No slave shall be set free, upon any pretence whatever, except for some meritorious services, to be adjudged and allowed by the Governor and Council; and where any slave shall be set free by his owner, otherwise than is herein directed, the church-wardens of the parish wherein such negro shall reside for the space of one month, are hereby authorized and required, to take up and sell the said negro, by public outcry."

Will not these lawgivers take effectual care to prevent cruelty and oppression?

The law of Jamaica ordains—"Every slave that shall run away, and continue absent from his master twelve months, shall be deemed rebellious;" and by another law, fifty pounds are allowed to those "who kill or bring in alive, a rebellious slave." So their laws treat these poor men with as little ceremony and consideration as if they were merely brute beasts! But the innocent blood which is shed in consequence of such a detestable law, must call for vengeance on the murderers, abettors and actors of such deliberate wickedness.

But the law of Barbadoes exceeds even this—"If any negro under punishment by his master, or his order, for running away, or any other crime or misdemeanor, shall suffer in life or member, no person whatsoever shall be liable to any fine therefor. But if any man, of wantonness, or only of bloody-mindedness, or cruel intention, wilfully kill a negro of his own"—now observe the severe punishment!—"he shall pay into the public treasury, fifteen pounds sterling: and not be liable to any other punishment or forfeiture for the same!"

Nearly allied to this, is that law of Virginia—"After proclamation is issued against slaves that run away, it is lawful for any person whatsoever to kill and destroy such slaves by such ways and means as he shall think fit."

We have seen already some of the ways and means which have been thought fit on such occasions: and many more might be mentioned. One man, when I was abroad, thought fit to roast his slave alive! But if the most natural act of running away from intolerable tyranny deserves such relentless severity, what punishment have those law-makers to expect hereafter, on account of their own enormous offences?

III. This is the plain, unaggravated matter of fact. Such is the manner wherein

our slaves are procured: such the manner wherein they were removed from their native land, and wherein they are treated in our colonies. Can these things be defended on the principles of even heathen honesty? Can they be reconciled, setting the Bible out of the question, with any degree of either justice or mercy?

2. The grand plea is, "They are authorized by law." But can law, human law, change the nature of things? Can it turn darkness into light, or evil into good? By no means. Notwithstanding ten thousand laws, right is right, and wrong is wrong. There must still remain an essential difference between justice and injustice, cruelty and mercy. So that I ask; Who can reconcile this treatment of the slaves, first and last, with either mercy or justice? where is the justice of inflicting the severest evils on those who have done us no wrong? Of depriving those who never injured us in word or deed, of every comfort of life? Of tearing them from their native country, and depriving them of liberty itself; to which an Angolan has the same natural right as an American, and on which he sets as high a value? Where is the justice of taking away the lives of innocent, inoffensive men? Murdering thousands of them in their own land by the hands of their own countrymen; and tens of thousands in that cruel slavery, to which they are so unjustly reduced?

3. But I strike at the root of this complicated villany. I absolutely deny all slaveholding to be consistent with any degree of natural justice. Judge BLACKSTONE has placed this in the clearest light, as follows:

"The three origins of the right of slavery assigned by Justinian are all built upon false foundations. 1. Slavery is said to arise from captivity in war. The conqueror having a right to the life of his captive, if he spares that, has a right to deal with them as he pleases. But this is untrue, that by the laws of nations a man has a right to kill his enemy. He has only a right to kill him in cases of absolute necessity, for self-defence. And it is plain this absolute necessity did not subsist, since he did not kill him, but made him prisoner. War itself is justifiable only on principles of self-preservation. Therefore it gives us no right over prisoners, but to hinder their hurting us by confining them. Much less can it give a right to torture, or kill, or even enslave an enemy, when the war is over. Since therefore the right of making our prisoners slaves, depends on a supposed right of slaughter, that foundation failing, the consequence which is drawn from it must fail likewise. 2. It is said, slavery may begin by one man's selling himself to another. It is true, a man may sell himself to work for another; but he cannot sell himself to be a slave, as above defined. Every sale implies an equivalent given to the seller, in lieu of what he transfers to the buyer. But what equivalent can be given for life or liberty? His property likewise, with the very price which he seems to receive, devolves to his master the moment he becomes his slave: in this case therefore, the buyer gives nothing. Of what validity then can a law be, which destroys the very principle upon which all sales are founded. 3. We are told that men may be born slaves, by being the children of slaves. But this, being built upon the two former false claims, must fall with them. If neither captivity nor contract, by the plain law of nature and reason, can reduce the parent to a state of slavery, much less can they reduce the offspring." It clearly follows, that all slavery is as irreconcilable to justice, as to mercy.

4. That slaveholding is utterly inconsistent with mercy is almost too plain to need a proof. It is said: "These negroes, being prisoners of war, our captains and factors buy them, merely to save them from being put to death. Is not this mercy?" I answer; 1. Did Hawkins, and many others, seize upon men, women, and children, who were at peace in their own fields and houses, merely to save them from death? 2. Was it to save them from death, that they knocked out the brains of those they could not bring away? 3. Who occasioned and fomented those wars, wherein these poor creatures were taken prisoners? Who excited them by money, by drink, by every possible means to fall upon one another? Was it not themselves? They know in their own consciences it was, if they have any consciences left. 4. To bring the matter to a short issue: Can they say before God, that they ever took a single voyage, or bought a single African from this motive? They cannot. To get money, not to save lives, was the whole and sole spring of their motives.

5. But if this manner of procuring and treating slaves is not consistent with mercy or justice, yet there is a plea for it which every man of business will acknowledge to be quite sufficient. One meeting an eminent statesman, in the lobby of the House of Commons said—"You have been long talking about justice and equity;

pray, which is this bill? Equity or justice?" He answered very short and plain—"Damn justice; it is necessity." Here also the slaveholder fixes his foot; here he rests the strength of his cause. "It is not quite right, yet it must be so: there is an absolute necessity for it. It is necessary we should procure slaves; and when we have procured them, it is necessary to use them with severity, considering their stupidity, stubbornness, and wickedness." You stumble at the threshold; I deny that villany is ever necessary. It is impossible that it should ever be necessary for any reasonable creature to violate all the laws of justice, mercy, and truth. No circumstances can make it necessary for a man to burst in sunder all the ties of humanity. *It can never be necessary for a rational being to sink himself below a brute. A man can be under no necessity of degrading himself into a wolf.* The absurdity of the supposition is so glaring, that one would wonder any one could help seeing it.

6. What is necessary? and to what end? It may be answered; "The whole method now used by the original purchasers of Africans is necessary to the furnishing our colonies yearly with a hundred thousand slaves." I grant *this is necessary to that end.* But how is that end necessary? How will you prove it necessary that one hundred, that one of those slaves should be procured? "It is necessary to my gaining a hundred thousand pounds." Perhaps so: but how is *this* necessary? It is very possible you might be both a better and a happier man, if you had not a quarter of it. I deny that your gaining one thousand is necessary, either to your present or eternal happiness. "But you must allow these slaves are necessary for the cultivation of our islands: inasmuch as white men are not able to labor in hot climates." I answer; 1. It were better that all those islands should remain uncultivated for ever; yea, it were more desirable that they were altogether sunk in the depth of the sea, than that they should be cultivated at so high a price; as the violation of justice, mercy, and truth. 2. But the supposition on which you ground your argument is false. White men are able to labor in hot climates, provided they are temperate both in meat and drink, and that they inure themselves to it by degrees. *I speak no more than I know by experience.* The summer heat in Georgia is frequently equal to that in Barbadoes, and to that under the line: yet I and my family, eight in number, employed all our spare time there, in felling of trees and clearing of ground, as hard labor as any slave need be employed in. The German family likewise, forty in number, were employed in all manner of labor. This was so far from impairing our health, that we all continued perfectly well, while the idle ones round about us were swept away as with a pestilence. It is not true therefore, that white men are not able to labor, even in hot climates, full as well as black. If they were not, it would be better that none should labor there, that the work should be left undone, than that myriads of innocent men should be murdered, and myriads more dragged into the basest slavery. "But the furnishing us with slaves is necessary for the trade, wealth, and glory of the nation." Better no trade, than trade procured by villany. It is far better to have no wealth, than to gain wealth at the expense of virtue. Better is honest poverty, than all the riches bought by the tears, and sweat, and blood of our fellow-creatures.

7. "When we have slaves, it is necessary to use them with severity." What, to whip them for every petty offence till they are in a gore of blood? To take that opportunity of rubbing pepper and salt into their raw flesh? To drop burning sealing-wax upon their skins? To castrate them? To cut off half their foot with an axe? To hang them on gibbets, that they may die by inches with heat, and hunger, and thirst? To pin them down to the ground, and then burn them by degrees from the feet to the head? To roast them alive? When did a Turk or a heathen find it necessary to use a fellow-creature thus? To what end is this usage necessary? "To prevent their running away, and to keep them constantly to their labor, that they may not idle away their time. So miserably stupid is this race of men, so stubborn and so wicked!" Allowing this, to whom is that stupidity owing? It lies altogether at the door of their inhuman masters, who gave them no means, no opportunity of improving their understanding; and indeed leave them no motive, either from hope or fear to attempt any such thing. They were no way remarkable for stupidity while they remained in Africa. To some of the inhabitants of Europe they are greatly superior. Survey the natives of Benin, and of Lapland. Compare the Samoeids and the Angolans. The African is in no respect inferior to the European. Their stupidity in our colonies is not natural; otherwise than it is the natural effect of their condition. Consequently it is not *their* fault, but yours: and you must



answer for it before God and man. "But their stupidity is not the only reason of our treating them with severity; for it is hard to say which is the greatest, this, or their stubbornness and wickedness." But do not these, as well as the other, lie at your door? Are not stubbornness, cunning, pilfering, and divers other vices, the natural necessary fruits of slavery, in every age and nation? What means have you used to remove this stubbornness? Have you tried what mildness and gentleness would do? What pains have you taken, what method have you used to reclaim them from their wickedness? Have you carefully taught them, "that there is a God, a wise, powerful, merciful Being, the Creator and Governor of heaven and earth; that he has appointed a day wherein he will judge the world, will take an account of all our thoughts, words, and actions; that in that day he will reward every child of man according to his works: that then the righteous shall inherit the kingdom prepared for them from the foundation of the world; and the wicked shall be cast into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels?" If you have not done this, if you have taken no pains nor thought about this matter, can you wonder at their wickedness? What wonder if they should cut your throat? and if they did, whom could you thank for it but yourself? You first acted the villain in making them slaves, whether you stole them or bought them. You kept them stupid and wicked, by cutting them off from all opportunities of improving either in knowledge or virtue; and now you assign their want of wisdom or goodness as the reason for using them worse than brute beasts!

V. I add a few words to those who are more immediately concerned.

1. *To Traders.* You have torn away children from their parents; and parents from their children; husbands from their wives; wives from their beloved husbands; brethren and sisters from each other. You have dragged them who have never done you any wrong, in chains, and forced them into the vilest slavery, never to end but with life; such slavery as is not found among the Turks in Algiers, nor among the heathens in America. You induce the villain to steal, rob, murder men, women, and children, without number, by paying him for his execrable labor. It is all your act and deed. Is your conscience quite reconciled to this? Does it never reproach you at all? Has gold entirely blinded your eyes, and stupified your heart? Can you see, can you feel no harm therein? Is it doing as you would be done to? Make the case your own: "Master," said a slave at Liverpool, to the merchant that owned him, "what if some of my countrymen were to come here, and take away Mistress, and Tommy, and Billy, and carry them into our country, and make them slaves, how would you like it?" His answer was worthy of a man—"I will never buy a slave more while I live." Let his resolution be yours. Have no more any part in this detestable business. Instantly leave it to those unfeeling wretches, "who laugh at human nature and compassion." Be you a man; not a wolf, a devourer of the human species! Be merciful, that you may obtain mercy.

Is there a God? You know there is. Is he a just God? Then there must be a state of retribution; a state wherein the just God will reward every man according to his works. Then what reward will he render to you? O think betimes! before you drop into eternity! Think now. "He shall have judgment without mercy that hath showed no mercy." Are you a man? Then you should have a human heart. But have you indeed? What is your heart made of? Is there no such principle as compassion there? Do you never feel another's pain? Have you no sympathy? no sense of human woe? no pity for the miserable? When you saw the streaming eyes, the heaving breasts, the bleeding sides, and the tortured limbs of your fellow creatures, were you a stone or a brute? Did you look upon them with the eyes of a tiger? Had you no relenting? Did not one tear drop from your eye, one sigh escape from your breast? Do you feel no relenting now? If you do not, you must go on till the measure of your iniquities is full. Then will the great God deal with you, as you have dealt with them, and require all their blood at your hands. At that day it shall be more tolerable for Sodom and Gomorrah than for you. But if your heart does relent; resolve, God being your helper, to escape for your life. Regard not money! All that a man hath, will he give for his life. Whatever you lose, lose not your soul; nothing can countervail that loss. Immediately quit the horrid trade; at all events be an honest man.

2. *To Slaveholders.* This equally concerns all slaveholders, of whatever rank and degree; seeing men-buyers are exactly on a level with men-stealers! Indeed you say, "I pay honestly for my goods; and I am not concerned to know how they are

come by." Nay, but you are: you are deeply concerned to know they are honestly come by: otherwise you are partaker with a thief, and are not a jot honesteater than he. But you know they are not honestly come by: you know they are procured by means *nothing near so innocent as picking pockets, house-breaking, or robbery upon the highway*. You know they are procured by a deliberate species of more complicated villany, of fraud, robbery, and murder, than was ever practised by Mohammedans or Pagans; in particular, by murders of all kinds; by the blood of the innocent poured upon the ground like water. Now it is *your money* that pays the African butcher. You therefore are principally guilty of all these frauds, robberies, and murders. You are the spring that puts all the rest in motion. They would not stir a step without you: therefore the blood of all these wretches who die before their time lies upon your head. "The blood of thy brother crieth against thee from the earth." O whatever it costs, put a stop to its cry before it be too late; instantly, at any price, were it the half of your goods, deliver thyself from blood-guiltiness! *Thy hands, thy bed, thy furniture, thy house, and thy lands at present are stained with blood.* Surely it is enough; accumulate no more guilt: spill no more the blood of the innocent. Do not hire another to shed blood; do not pay him for doing it. Whether you are a Christian or not, show yourself a man! Be not more savage than a lion or a bear!

Perhaps, you will say: "I do not buy any slaves; I only use those left by my father." But is that enough to satisfy your conscience? Had your father, have you, has any man living a right to use another as a slave? It cannot be, even setting revelation aside. Neither war nor contract can give any man such a property in another as he has in his sheep and oxen. Much less is it possible, that any child of man should ever be born a slave. Liberty is the right of every human creature, as soon as he breathes the vital air: and no human law can deprive him of that right which he derives from the law of nature. If, therefore, you have any regard to justice, to say nothing of mercy, or of the revealed law of God, render unto all their due. Give liberty to whom liberty is due, to every child of man, to every partaker of human nature. Let none serve you but by his own act and deed, by his own voluntary choice. Away with all whips, all chains, all compulsion! Be gentle toward all men, and see that you invariably do unto every one, as you would he should do unto you.

O thou God of love, thou who art loving to every man, and whose mercy is over all thy works; thou who art the Father of the spirits of all flesh, and who art rich in mercy unto all; thou who hast formed of one blood, all the nations upon the earth; have compassion upon these outcasts of men, who are trodden down as dung upon the earth: Arise, and help these that have no helper, whose blood is spilled upon the ground like water! Are not these also the work of thine own hands, the purchase of thy Son's blood? Stir them up to cry unto thee in the land of their captivity; and let their complaint come up before thee; let it enter into thine ears! Make even those that lead them captive to pity them and turn their captivity. O burst thou all their chains in sunder; more especially the chains of their sins: thou Saviour of all, make them free, that they may be free indeed!

"The servile progeny of Ham,  
Seize as the purchase of thy blood;  
Let all the heathens know thy name.  
From idols to the living God  
The dark Americans convert,  
And shine in every Pagan heart!"

#### ADAM CLARKE.

*Isaiah lviii, 6.—Let the oppressed go free.* How can any nation pretend to fast, or worship God at all, or dare profess that they believe in the existence of such a Being, while they carry on what is called the slave-trade: and traffic in the souls, blood, and bodies of men! O ye most flagitious of knaves and worst of hypocrites! cast off at once the mask of religion, and deepen not your endless perdition by professing the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, while you continue in this traffic!

## THOMAS SCOTT.

*Exodus* xxi, 16.—“He that sterleth a man, and selleth him, or if he be found in his hands, he shall surely be put to death.” Stealing a man in order to sell him for a slave, whether the thief had actually sold him, or whether he continued in his possession. He who stole any one of the human family, in order to make a slave of him, should be punished with death. The crime would be aggravated by sending them away into foreign countries to be slaves to idolaters.

*Deuteronomy* xxiv, 7.—“If a man be found stealing any of his brethren of the children of Israel, and maketh merchandise of him, or selleth him, then **THAT THIEF SHALL DIE.**”—Every man is now our brother, whatever be his nation, complexion or creed. How then can the merchandise of men and women be carried on, without transgressing this commandment, or abetting those who do? A man may steal, or purchase of those who do steal, hundreds of men and women, and not only escape with impunity, but grow great like a prince. According to the law of God, whoever stole cattle restored four or five fold; *whoever stole one human being, though an infant or an idiot, must die.*

1. *Timothy* i, 10.—“Men-stealers.”—Men-stealers are inserted among those daring criminals against whom the law of God directed its awful curses. Persons who kidnapped men to sell them for slaves. This practice seems inseparable from the other iniquities and oppressions of slavery; nor can a *slave-dealer* by any means keep free from that atrocious criminality, *if the receiver be as bad as the thief.* They who encourage that unchristian traffic by purchasing that, which is thus unjustly acquired, are partakers in their crimes.—*Macknight.*—*That is the only species of theft which is punished with death by the laws of God.*

*James* ii, 12, 13.—“So speak ye, and so do, as they that shall be judged by the law of liberty.”

“For he shall have judgment without mercy that hath showed no mercy, and mercy rejoiceth against judgment.” On this verse Dr. Scott makes the following remarks.—“All who are not taught to show mercy to others, must expect to be dealt with according to the severity of justice in respect of their eternal state. What then must be the doom of the cruel oppressors and iniquitous tyrants of the human species? But the hard-hearted, selfish, implacable, and oppressive professor of Christianity, has the greatest cause to tremble; for if ‘he shall have judgment without mercy, who hath shown no mercy,’ the meanest slave that ever was whipt and worked to death, must be considered as happy, compared with his haughty cruel tyrant, and this shall sufficiently appear, ‘when the earth shall disclose her blood, and shall no more cover her slain.’”

*Revelation* xviii, 13.—“Slaves and souls of men.”—Not only slaves, but the souls of men are mentioned as articles of commerce, which is beyond comparison, the most infamous of all traffics that the demon of avarice ever devised; almost infinitely more atrocious, than the *accursed* slave-trade. Alas! too often, injustice, oppression, fraud, avarice, or excessive indulgence are connected with extensive commerce; and to number the persons of men, with oxen, asses, sheep and horses, as the stock of a farm, or with bales of goods, as the cargo of a ship, is no doubt a most detestable and anti-christian practice.—*Scott's Commentaries on the Bible.*

## JAMES BEATTIE.

It is well-observed by the wisest of poets (as Atheneus, quoting the passage, justly calls), *Homer*, who lived when slavery was common, and whose knowledge of the human heart is unquestionable, that “When a man is made a slave, he loses from that day the half of his virtue.” And *Longinus*, quoting the same passage, affirms, “Slavery, however mild, may still be called the poison of the soul, and a public dungeon.” And *Tacitus* remarks, that “Even wild animals lose

their spirit when deprived of their freedom." All history proves, and every rational philosopher admits, that as liberty promotes virtue and genius, slavery debases the understanding and corrupts the heart of both the slave and the master, and that in a greater or less degree, as it is more or less severe. So that in this plea of the slave-monger, we have an example of that diabolical casuistry, whereby the tempter and corruptor endeavors to vindicate or gratify himself, by accusing those whom he himself has tempted or corrupted.

Slavery is inconsistent with the dearest and most essential rights of man's nature; it is detrimental to virtue and to industry; it hardens the heart to those tender sympathies which form the most lovely part of human character; it involves the innocent in hopeless misery, in order to procure wealth and pleasure for the authors of that misery; it seeks to degrade into brutes beings whom the Lord of heaven and earth endowed with rational souls, and created for immortality; in short, it is utterly repugnant to every principle of reason, religion, humanity, and conscience. It is impossible for a considerate and unprejudiced mind to think of slavery without horror. That a man, a rational and immortal being, should be treated on the same footing with a beast or piece of wood, and bought and sold, and entirely subjected to the will of another man, whose equal he is by nature, and whose superior he may be in virtue and understanding, and all for no crime, but merely because he was born in a certain country, or of certain parents, or because he differs from us in the shape of his nose, the color of his skin, or the size of his lips; if this be equitable, or excusable, or pardonable, it is vain to talk any longer of the eternal distinctions of right and wrong, truth and falsehood, good and evil. It has been said that negroes are animals of a nature inferior to man, between whom and the brutes they hold, as it were, the middle place. But though this were true, it would not follow that we have a right either to debase ourselves by a habit of cruelty, or to use them ill; for even beasts, if inoffensive, are entitled to gentle treatment, and we have reason to believe that they who are not merciful will not obtain mercy. Besides, if we were to admit this theory, we should be much at a loss to determine whether the negro does really partake so much of the brute, as to lose that right of liberty which, unless it be forfeited by criminal conduct, is inherent in every human, or at least in every rational being. And further, in the same proportion in which black men are supposed to be brutes, they must be supposed incapable of moral notions, and consequently not accountable for their conduct, and therefore to punish them as criminals must always be, in a certain degree, both absurd and cruel. But, I think that our planters know both negroes and mulattoes too well to have any doubt of their being men. The very soil becomes more fertile under the hands of freemen. "Liberty and property," says the intelligent *Le Pôvre*, "form the basis of abundance and good agriculture. I never observed it to flourish where those rights of mankind were not firmly established. The earth which multiplies her productions with profusion under the hands of the freeborn laborer,

seems to shrink into barrenness under the sweat of the slave." The same sentiments are found in *Pliny* and *Columella*, who both impute the decay of husbandry, in their time, not to any deficiency in the soil, but to the unwise policy of leaving to the management of slaves those fields, which, says *Pliny*, "had formerly rejoiced under the laurelled ploughshare and the triumphant ploughman." *Rollin*, with good reason, imputes to the same cause the present barrenness of Palestine, which in ancient times was called the land flowing with milk and honey.

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### WILLIAM ROBERTSON, D. D.

In the ancient world . . . the persons, the goods, the children of these slaves, were the property of their masters, disposed of at pleasure, and transferred, like any other possession, from one hand to another. No inequality, no superiority in power, no pretext of consent, can justify this ignominious depression of human nature, or can confer upon one man the right of dominion over another. But not only doth reason condemn this institution as unjust; experience proved it to be pernicious both to masters and slaves. The elevation of the former inspired them with pride, insolence, impatience, cruelty, and voluptuousness; the dependant and hopeless state of the latter dejected the human mind, and extinguished every generous and noble principle in the heart.—*Sermon*.

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### BISHOP WARBURTON.

"From the free savages I now come to the savages in bonds. By these I mean the vast multitudes yearly stolen from the opposite continent, and sacrificed by the colonists to their great idol the god of gain. But what, then, say these sincere worshippers of mammon? They are our own property which we offer up. Gracious God! to talk, as of herds of cattle, of property in rational creatures, creatures endued with all our faculties, possessing all our qualities but that of color, our brethren both by nature and grace, shocks all the feelings of humanity, and the dictates of common sense! But, alas! what is there, in the infinite abuses of society, which does not shock them? Yet nothing is more certain in itself and apparent to all, than that the infamous traffic for slaves directly infringes both divine and human law. Nature created man free, and grace invites him to assert his freedom.

"In excuse of this violation it hath been pretended, that though indeed these miserable outcasts of humanity be torn from their homes and native country by fraud and violence, yet they thereby become the happier, and their condition the more eligible. But who are you, who pretend to judge of another man's happiness; that state, which

each man under the guidance of his Maker forms for himself, and not one man for another? To know what constitutes mine or your happiness is the sole prerogative of him who created us, and cast us in so various and different moulds. Did your slaves ever complain to you of their unhappiness amidst their native woods and deserts? or rather let me ask, Did they ever cease complaining of their condition under you their lordly masters, where they see indeed the accommodation of civil life, but see them pass to others, themselves unbenefited by them? Be so gracious, then, ye petty tyrants over human freedom, to let your slaves judge for themselves, what it is which makes their own happiness, and then see whether they do not place it in the return to their own country, rather than in the contemplation of your grandeur, of which their misery makes so large a part; a return so passionately longed for, that, despairing of happiness here, that is, of escaping the chains of their cruel task-masters, they console themselves with feigning it to be the gracious reward of heaven in their future state."—*Sermon, 1766.*

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DR. PECKARD.

"Now, whether we consider the crime with respect to the individuals concerned in this most barbarous and cruel traffic, or whether we consider it as patronised and encouraged by the laws of the land, it presents to our view an equal degree of enormity. A crime, founded on a dreadful pre-eminence in wickedness; a crime which, being both of individuals and the nation, must some time draw down upon us the heaviest judgment of Almighty God, who made of one blood all the sons of men, and who gave to all equally a natural right to liberty; and who, ruling all the kingdoms of the earth with equal providential justice, cannot suffer such deliberate, such monstrous iniquity, to pass long unpunished."—*Sermon before the Cambridge University.*

## THE HOLY BIBLE.

### MOSES.

CHAP. I, verso 27. So God created man in his own image: in the image of God created he him; male and female created he them. [*Not tyrants and slaves.*]

IV, 9. And the Lord said unto Cain, Where is Abel thy brother? And he said, I know not: *Am I my brother's keeper?*

10. And he said, What hast thou done? the voice of thy brother's blood crieth unto me from the ground:

11. And now art thou cursed from the earth, which hath opened her mouth to receive thy brother's blood from thy hand.

XXXVII, 28. And [they] sold Joseph to the Ishmaelites for twenty *pieces of silver*; and they brought Joseph into Egypt.

XLII, 21. And they said one to another, We are verily guilty concerning our brother, in that we saw the anguish of his soul, when he besought us, and we would not hear; therefore is this distress come upon us.—*Genesis.*

XX, 1. And God spake all these words, saying,

2. I am the Lord thy God, which have brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage.

3. Thou shalt have no other gods before me.

13. Thou shalt not kill.

14. Thou shalt not commit adultery.

15. Thou shalt not steal.

16. Thou shalt not bear false witness.

17. Thou shalt not covet.—[*See the whole chapter.*]

XXI, 16. And he that stealeth a man, and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death.

26. And if a man smite the eye of his servant, or the eye of his maid, that it perish; he shall let him go free for his eye's sake.

27. And if he smite out his man-servant's tooth, or his maid-servant's tooth; he shall let him go free for his tooth's sake.

XXIII, 9. Also thou shalt not oppress a stranger: for ye know the heart of a

stranger, seeing ye were strangers in the land of Egypt.—*Exodus.*

XIX, 11. Ye shall not steal, neither deal falsely, neither lie one to another.

13. Thou shalt not defraud thy neighbor, neither rob him: the wages of him that is hired shall not abide with thee all night until the morning.

18. Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.

33. And if a stranger sojourn with thee in your land, ye shall not vex him.

34. But the stranger that dwelleth with you shall be unto you as one born among you, and thou shalt love him as thyself; for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt; I am the Lord your God.

XXIV, 21. And he that killeth a man, he shall be put to death.

22. Ye shall have one manner of law, as well for the stranger, as for one of your own country: for I am the Lord your God.

XXV, 10. And ye shall hallow the fiftieth year, and proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof; it shall be a jubilee unto you; and ye shall return every man unto his possession, and ye shall return every man unto his family.

35. And if thy brother be waxen poor, and fallen in decay with thee, then thou shalt relieve him; yea, though he be a stranger, or a sojourner; that he may live with thee.

36. Take thou no usury of him, or increase: but fear thy God; that thy brother may live with thee.—*Leviticus.*

XV, 11. For the poor shall never cease out of the land: therefore I command thee, saying, Thou shalt open thine hand wide unto thy brother, to thy poor, and to thy needy, in thy land.

14. Thou shalt not oppress an hired servant, that is poor and needy, whether he be of thy brethren, or of thy strangers that are in thy land within thy gates:

XXIII, 15. THOU SHALT NOT DELIVER UNTO HIS MASTER THE SERVANT WHICH IS ESCAPED FROM HIS MASTER UNTO THEE.

10. He shall dwell with thee, even among you, in that place which he shall choose, in one of thy gates where it liketh him best: thou shalt not oppress him.

XXVII, 19. Cursed be he that perverteth the judgment of the stranger, fatherless, and widow: and all the people shall say, Amen.

26. Cursed be he that confirmeth not all the words of this law to do them: and all the people shall say, Amen.

XXVIII, 15. But it shall come to pass, if thou wilt not hearken unto the voice of the Lord thy God, to observe to do all his commandments and his statutes, which I command thee this day, that all these curses shall come upon thee, and overtake thee.

37. And thou shalt become an astonishment, a proverb, and a by-word, among all nations whither the Lord shall lead thee.

41. Thou shalt beget sons and daughters, but thou shalt not enjoy them: for they shall go into captivity.

43. The stranger that is within thee shall get up above thee very high, and thou shalt come down very low.

44. He shall lend to thee, and thou shalt not lend to him: he shall be the head, and thou shalt be the tail.

45. Moreover, all these curses shall come upon thee, and shall pursue thee, and overtake thee, till thou be destroyed; because thou hearkenedst not unto the voice of the Lord thy God, to keep his commandments and his statutes which he commanded thee.

46. And they shall be upon thee for a sign, and for a wonder, and upon thy seed for ever.—*Deuteronomy.*

### JOB.

IV, 8. Even as I have seen, the that plow iniquity, and sow wickedness, reap the same.

XV, 20. The wicked man travaileth with pain all his days, and the number of years is hidden to the oppressor.

21. A dreadful sound is in his ears; in prosperity the destroyer shall come upon him.

22. He believeth not that he shall return out of darkness, and he is waited for of the sword.

23. He wandereth abroad for bread, saying, Where is it? he knoweth that the day of darkness is ready at his hand.

XX, 13. This is the portion of a wicked man with God, and the heritage

of oppressors, which they shall receive of the Almighty.

14. If his children be multiplied, it is for the sword; and his offspring shall not be satisfied with bread.

15. Those that remain of him shall be buried in death; and his widows shall not weep.

18. That which he labored for shall he restore, and shall not swallow it down: according to his substance shall the restitution be, and he shall not rejoice therein.

19. Because he hath oppressed and hath forsaken the poor; because he hath violently taken away an house which he builded not:

XXXI, 13. If I did despise the cause of my man-servant, or of my maid-servant, when they contended with me;

14. What then shall I do when God riseth up? and when he visiteth, what shall I answer him?

15. Did not he that made me in the womb make him? and did not one fashion us in the womb?

### DAVID.

IX, 12. When he maketh inquisition for blood, he remembereth them; he forgetteth not the cry of the humble.

17. The wicked shall be turned into hell, and all the nations that forget God.

18. For the needy shall not always be forgotten: the expectation of the poor shall not perish for ever.

X, 2. The wicked in his pride doth persecute the poor; let them be taken in the devices that they have imagined.

XII, 5. For the oppression of the poor, for the sighing of the needy, now will I arise, saith the Lord; I will set him in safety from him that puffeth at him.

6. The words of the Lord are pure words:

25. With the merciful thou wilt shew thyself merciful; with an upright man thou wilt shew thyself upright;

26. With the pure thou wilt shew thyself pure; and with the froward thou wilt shew thyself froward.

27. For thou wilt save the afflicted people; but wilt bring down high looks.

XLIX, 1. Hear this, all ye people; give ear, all ye inhabitants of the world.

2. Both low and high, rich and poor, together.

7. None of them can by any means redeem his brother, nor give to God a ransom for him;

8. (For the redemption of their souls is precious, and it ceaseth for ever:)



LYXII, 4. He shall judge the poor of the people, he shall save the children of the needy, and shall break in pieces the oppressor.

12. For he shall deliver the needy when he crieth; the poor also, and him that hath no helper.—*Psalms*.

### SOLOMON.

III, 1. And Solomon made affinity with Pharaoh, king of Egypt, and took Pharaoh's daughter, and brought her into the city of David.

3. And Solomon loved the Lord, walking in the statutes of David his father.—*1 Kings*.

VI, 38. Then hear thou from the heavens, even from thy dwelling-place, and do according to all that the stranger calleth to thee for: that all people of the earth may know thy name, and fear thee, as doth thy people Israel.—*1 Chronicles*.

I, 24. Because I have called, and ye refused; I have stretched out my hand, and no man regarded;

25. But ye have set at nought all my counsel, and would none of my reproof:

26. I also will laugh at your calamity; I will mock when your fear cometh;

27. When your fear cometh as desolation, and your destruction cometh as a whirlwind; when distress and anguish cometh upon you:

31. Therefore shall they eat of the fruit of their own way, and be filled with their own devices.

II, 3. Let not mercy and truth forsake thee; bind them about thy neck; write them upon the table of thine heart:

4. So shalt thou find favor and good understanding in the sight of God and man.

31. He that oppresseth the poor reproacheth his Maker; but he that honoreth him hath mercy on the poor.

32. The wicked is driven away in his wickedness; but the righteous hath hope in his death.

34. Righteousness exalteth a nation: but sin is a reproach to any people.

XXII, 22. Rob not the poor, because he is poor; neither oppress the afflicted in the gate;

23. For the Lord will plead their cause, and spoil the soul of those that spoiled them.

23. These things also belong to the wise. It is not good to have respect of persons in judgment.

24. He that saith unto the wicked,

Thou art righteous; him shall the people curse, nations shall abhor him:

XXX, 8. Open thy mouth for the dumb in the cause of all such as are appointed to destruction.

9. Open thy mouth, judge righteously, and plead the cause of the poor and needy.—*Proverbs*.

IV, 1. So I returned, and considered all the oppressions that are done under the sun: and behold, the tears of such as were oppressed, and they had no comforter; and on the side of their oppressors there was power; but they had no comforter.

V, 8. If thou seest the oppression of the poor, and violent perverting of judgment and justice in a province, marvel not at the matter: for he that is higher than the highest regardeth; and there be higher than they.

18. Behold that which I have seen; it is good and comely for one to eat and drink, and to enjoy the good of all his labor that he taketh under the sun: all the days of his life, which God giveth him; for it is his portion.

VIII, 11. Because sentence against an evil work is not executed speedily, therefore the heart of the sons of men is fully set in them to do evil.—*Ecclesiastes*.

5. I am black, but comely, O ye daughters of Jerusalem, as the tents of Kedar, as the curtains of Solomon.

6. Look not upon me, because I am black, because the sun hath looked upon me; my mother's children were angry with me; they made me the keeper of the vineyards; but mine own vineyard have I not kept.—*Songs*.

### ISAIAH.

I, 4. Ah sinful nation, a people laden with iniquity, a seed of evil-doers, children that are corrupters! they have forsaken the Lord, they have provoked the Holy One of Israel unto anger, they are gone away backward.

11. To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices unto me? saith the Lord:

16. Wash you, make you clean; put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes: cease to do evil;

17. Learn to do well; seek judgment; relieve the oppressed; judge the fatherless; plead for the widow.

18. Come now, and let us reason together, saith the Lord:

V, 15. What mean ye that ye beat my people to pieces, and grind the faces

of the poor? saith the Lord God of hosts.

18. Woe unto them that draw iniquity with cords of vanity, and sin as it were with a cart-rope.

20. Woe unto them that call evil good, and good evil; that put darkness for light, and light for darkness; that put bitter for sweet, and sweet for bitter!

23. Which justify the wicked for reward, and take away the righteousness of the righteous from him!

25. Therefore is the anger of the Lord kindled against his people.

26. And he will lift up an ensign to the nations from far, and will hiss unto them from the end of the earth; and behold, they shall come with speed swiftly.

X. 1. Woe unto them that decree unrighteous decrees, and that write grievousness which they have prescribed;

2. To turn aside the needy from judgment, and to take away the right from the poor of my people, that widows may be their prey, and that they may rob the fatherless!

3. And what will ye do in the day of visitation, and in the desolation which shall come from far? to whom will ye flee for help? and where will ye leave your glory?

XXXIII. 1. Woe to thee that spoilest, and thou wast not spoiled; and deal-est treacherously, and they dealt not treacherously with thee! when thou shalt cease to spoil, thou shalt be spoiled; and when thou shalt make an end to deal treacherously, they shall deal treacherously with thee.

15. He that walketh righteously, and speaketh uprightly; he that despiseth the gain of oppressions, that shaketh his hands from holding of bribes, that stoppeth his ears from hearing of blood, and shutteth his eyes from seeing evil.

16. He shall dwell on high; his place of defence shall be the mountains of rocks; bread shall be given him, his waters shall be sure.

XLII. 22. But this is a people robbed and spoiled; they are all of them snared in holes, and they are hid in prison-houses: they are for a prey, and none delivereth; for a spoil, and none saith, Restore.

33. Who among you will give ear to this? who will hearken, and hear for the time to come?

LVIII. 1. Cry aloud, spare not; lift up thy voice like a trumpet, and shew my people their transgression, and the house of Jacob their sins.

6. Is not this the fast that I have cho-

sen? to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke?

7. Is it not to deal thy bread to the hungry, and that thou bring the poor that are cast out to thy house? when thou seest the naked, that thou cover him; and that thou hide not thyself from thine own flesh?

## JEREMIAH.

XXXIV. 10. Now, when all the princes, and all the people, which had entered into the covenant, heard that every one should let his man-servant, and every one his maid-servant, go free, that none should serve themselves of them any more; then they obeyed, and let them go.

11. But afterward they turned, and caused the servants and the handmaids, whom they had let go free, to return, and brought them into subjection for servants and for handmaids.

17. Therefore thus saith the Lord, Ye have not hearkened unto me, in proclaiming liberty, every one to his brother, and every man to his neighbor: behold, I proclaim a liberty for you, saith the Lord, to the sword, to the pestilence, and to the famine; and I will make you to be removed into all the kingdoms of the earth.

III. 34. To crush under his feet all the prisoners of the earth,

35. To turn aside the right of a man before the face of the most High;

36. To subvert a man in his cause, the Lord approveth not.—*Lamentations.*

## EZEKIEL.

XXXIV. 4. The diseased have not yet strengthened, neither have ye healed that which was sick, neither have ye bound up that which was broken, neither have ye brought again that which was driven away, neither have ye sought that which was lost; but with force and with cruelty have ye ruled them.

15. I will feed my flock, and I will cause them to lie down, saith the Lord God.

16. I will seek that which was lost, and bring again that which was driven away, and will bind up that which was broken, and will strengthen that which was sick; but I will destroy the fat and the strong; I will feed them with judgment.

## JOEL.

III, 6. The children also of Judah, and the children of Jerusalem, have ye sold unto the Grecians, that ye might remove them far from their border.

7. Behold, I will raise them out of the place whither ye have sold them, and will return your recompense upon your own head:

8. And I will sell your sons and your daughters into the hand of the children of Judah, and they shall sell them to the Sabeans, to a people far off; for the Lord hath spoken it.

## MICAH.

8. He hath shewed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?

## MALACHI.

III, 5. And I will come near to you to judgment; and I will be a swift witness against the sorcerers, and against the adulterers, and against false swearers, and against those that oppress the hireling, in his wages, the widow, and the fatherless, and that turn aside the stranger from his right, and fear not me, saith the Lord of hosts.

## JESUS CHRIST.

V, 7. Blessed are the merciful: for they shall obtain mercy.

VII, 2. For with what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged: and with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again.

12. Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them: for this is the law and the prophets.

15. A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit; neither can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit.

16. Every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down, and cast into the fire.

18. Wherefore by their fruits ye shall know them.

IX, 13. But go ye and learn what that meaneth: I will have mercy, and not sacrifice: for I am not come to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance.

XVI, 3. O ye hypocrites, ye can discern the face of the sky, but can ye not discern the signs of the times?

XVIII, 7. ¶ Woe unto the world because of offences! for it must needs be that offences come; but woe to that man by whom the offence cometh!

XXII, 29. And the second is like unto it, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.

40. On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets.

XXIII, 8. But be ye not called Rabbis: for one is your Master, even Christ; and all ye are brethren.

23. Woe unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye pay tithe of mint, and anise, and cummin, and have omitted the weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy, and faith: these ought ye to have done, and not to leave the other undone.

24. Ye blind guides, which strain at a gnat, and swallow a camel.

33. Ye serpents, ye generation of vipers, how can ye escape the damnation of hell?

XXV, 44. Then shall they also answer him, saying, Lord, when saw we thee an hungred, or athirst, or a stranger, or naked, or sick, or in prison, and did not minister unto thee?

45. Then shall he answer them, saying, Verily, I say unto you, inasmuch as ye did it not to one of the least of these, ye did it not to me.—*St. Matthew's Gospel.*

## ST. LUKE.

IV, 18. The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach the gospel to the poor; he hath sent me to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised.

VI, 36. Be ye therefore merciful, as your Father also is merciful.

X, 36. Which now of these three, thinkest thou, was neighbor unto him that fell among the thieves?

37. And he said, He that showed mercy on him. Then said Jesus unto him, Go, and do thou likewise.

XI, 47. And that servant, which knew his lord's will, and prepared not himself, neither did according to his will, shall be beaten with many stripes.—*St. Luke's Gospel.*

## ST. JOHN.

III, 19. And this is the condemnation, that light is come into the world, and men loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds were evil.

20. For every one that doeth evil hateth the light, neither cometh to the light, lest his deeds should be reproved.

XV, 12. ¶ This is my commandment, That ye love one another, as I have loved you.

14. Ye are my friends, if ye do whatsoever I command you.

15. Henceforth I call you not servants; for the servant knoweth not what his lord doeth: but I have called you friends; for all things that I have heard of my Father I have made known unto you.

17. These things I command you, that ye love one another.—*St. John's Gospel.*

### ST. PETER.

X, 34. ¶ Then Peter opened his mouth, and said, Of a truth I perceive that God is no respecter of persons:

35. But in every nation he that feareth him, and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him.—*Acts.*

8. Finally, be ye all of one mind, having compassion one of another; love as brethren, be pitiful, be courteous;

10. For he that will love life, and see good days, let him refrain his tongue from evil, and his lips that they speak no guile;

11. Let him eschew evil, and do good; let him seek peace, and ensue it.—*1st Epistle.*

### ST. PAUL.

II, 3. And thinkest thou this, O man, that judgest them which do such things, and doest the same, that thou shalt escape the judgment of God?

6. Who will render to every man according to his deeds.

11. For there is no respect of persons with God.—*Epistle to the Romans.*

XVII, 26. And hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation.—*Acts.*

X, 11. Now all these things happened unto them for ensamples; and they are written for our admonition, upon whom the ends of the world are come.—*1 Corinthians.*

III, 17. Now the Lord is that Spirit: and where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty.

VIII, 14. But by an equality, that now at this time your abundance may be a supply for their want, that their abundance also may be a supply for your want, that there may be equality.—*2 Corinthians.*

V, 1. Stand fast therefore in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free, and be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage.

13. For, brethren, ye have been called unto liberty; only use not liberty for an occasion to the flesh, but by love serve one another.

14. For all the law is fulfilled in one word, even in this, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.

15. But if ye bite and devour one another, take heed that ye be not consumed one of another.—*Galatians.*

IV, 23. Let him that stole steal no more; but rather let him labor, working with his hands the thing which is good, that he may have to give to him that needeth.

V, 11. And have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, but rather reprove them.

9. And, ye masters, do the same things unto them, forbearing threatening: knowing that your Master also is in heaven; neither is there respect of persons with him.—*Ephesians.*

III, 25. But he that doeth wrong shall receive for the wrong which he hath done: and there is no respect of persons.

IV, 1. Masters, give unto your servants that which is just and equal; knowing that ye also have a Master in heaven.

—*Colossians.*

I, 8. But we know that the law is good, if a man use it lawfully.

9. Knowing this, that the law is not made for a righteous man, but for the lawless and disobedient, for the ungodly and for sinners, for unholy and profane, for murderers of fathers and murderers of mothers, for manslayers,

10. For whoremongers, for them that defile themselves with mankind, for men-stealers, for liars, for perjured persons, and if there be any other thing that is contrary to sound doctrine.

V, 21. I charge thee before God, and the Lord Jesus Christ, and the elect angels, that thou observe these things, without preferring one before another, doing nothing by partiality.

22. Lay hands suddenly on no man, neither be partaker of other men's sins: keep thyself pure.

VI, 12. For the love of money is the root of all evil; which while some men coveted after, they have erred from the faith, and pierced themselves through with many sorrows.

11. But thou, O man of God, flee these things; and follow after righteousness—

ness, godliness, faith, love, patience, meekness.

18. That they do good, that they be rich in good works, ready to distribute, willing to communicate.—1 *Timothy*.

I, 6. For God hath not given us the spirit of fear; but of power, and of love, and of a sound mind.

IV, 2. Preach the word; be instant in season, out of season; reprove, rebuke, exhort, with all long-suffering and doctrine.

3. For the time will come when they will not endure sound doctrine.—2 *Timothy*.

X, 26. For if we sin wilfully after that we have received the knowledge of the truth, there remaineth no more sacrifice for sins,

27. But a certain fearful looking for of judgment and fiery indignation, which shall devour the adversaries.

30. For we know him that hath said, Vengeance belongeth unto me, I will recompense, saith the Lord. And again, The Lord shall judge his people.

31. It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God.

XIII, 3. Remember them that are in bonds, as bound with them; and them which suffer adversity, as being yourselves also in the body.—*Hebrews*.

### ST. JAMES.

I, 27. Pure religion, and undefiled, before God and the Father, is this, To visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and to keep himself unspotted from the world.

II, 5. Hearken, my beloved brethren, Hath not God chosen the poor of this world rich in faith, and heirs of the kingdom which he hath promised to them that love him?

6. But ye have despised the poor. Do not rich men oppress you, and draw you before the judgment-seats?

8. If ye fulfil the royal law according to the scripture, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself, ye do well:

9. But if ye have respect to persons, ye commit sin, and are convinced of the law as transgressors.

II, 16. And one of you say unto them, Depart in peace, be ye warmed and filled; notwithstanding ye give them not those things which are needful to the body, what doth it profit?

17. Even so faith, if it hath not works, is dead, being alone.

18. Yee, a man may say, Thou hast

faith, and I have works: show me thy faith without thy works, and I will show thee my faith by my works.

19. Thou believest that there is one God; thou doest well: the devils also believe, and tremble.

V, 1. Go to now, ye rich men, weep and howl for your miseries that shall come upon you.

4. Behold, the hire of the laborers who have reaped down your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth: and the cries of them which have reaped are entered into the ears of the Lord of sabaoth.

5. Ye have lived in pleasure on the earth, and been wanton; ye have nourished your hearts, as in a day of slaughter.

6. Ye have condemned and killed the just; and he doth not resist you.

### ST. JOHN.

II, 10. He that loveth his brother, abideth in the light, and there is none occasion of stumbling in him:

11. But he that hateth his brother is in darkness, and walketh in darkness, and knoweth not whither he goeth, because that darkness hath blinded his eyes.

III, 10. In this the children of God are manifest, and the children of the devil: whosoever doeth not righteousness is not of God, neither he that loveth not his brother.

11. For this is the message that ye heard from the beginning, that we should love one another.

17. But whoso hath this world's good, and seeth his brother have need, and shutteth up his bowels of compassion from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him?

IV, 20. If a man say, I love God and hateth his brother, he is a liar: for he that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?

21. And this commandment have we from him, That he who loveth God love his brother also.—1st *Epistle*.

10. If there come any unto you, and bring not this doctrine, receive him not into your house, neither bid him God speed:

11. For he that biddeth him God speed is partaker of his evil deeds.—2d *Epistle*.

XIII, 9. If any man have an ear, let him hear.

10. He that leadeth into captivity, shall go into captivity: he that killeth with the sword, must be killed with the sword.

XVIII, 4. And I heard another voice

from heaven, saying, Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues:

5. For her sins have reached unto heaven, and God hath remembered her iniquities.

6. Reward her even as she rewarded you, and double unto her double, according to her works: in the cup which she hath filled, fill to her double.

10. Standing afar off for the fear of her torment, saying, Alas, alas! that great city Babylon, that mighty city! for in one hour is thy judgment come.

11. And the merchants of the earth shall weep and mourn over her; for no man buyeth their merchandise any more:

13. Fine flour, and wheat, and beasts,

and sheep, and horses, and chariots, and slaves and souls of men.

XX, 12. And I saw the dead, small and great stand before God: and the books were opened; and another book was opened, which is *the book of life*: and the dead were judged out of those things which were written in the books, according to their works.

13. And the sea gave up the dead which were in it; and death and hell delivered up the dead which were in them: and they were judged every man according to their works.

XXII, 12. And behold, I come quickly; and my reward is with me, to give every man according as his work shall be.—*Revelation.*

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